The UNESCO COURIER

MARCH 1993

PAGE 4

A LETTER FROM FREUD TO EINSTEIN

PSYCHOANALYSIS

# THE HIDDEN I

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THE UNESCO COURIER ● LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR ● THE LOS ANGELES TIMES SYNDICATE
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ORGANIZED ON 12 AND 13 FEBRUARY AT UNESCO HEADQUARTERS IN PARIS

# INTELLECTUALS OF THE WORLD

A MEETING ON THE THEME

## CAN NORTH AND SOUTH SHARE THE SAME IDEA OF PROGRESS?

AMONG
THE PARTICIPANTS

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In next month's issue,
highlights of the discussions

Later this year,
the Courier will publish a special issue based on the main contributions
to the meeting

**4** *DOCUMENT*
**A letter from Freud to Einstein**

**8**

**PSYCHOANALYSIS**
# THE HIDDEN I

*presented by Sylvie Nerson Rousseau*

**Freud and Freudianism**
*by Jacques Hassoun* **10**

**The inner adventure**
*by Olivier Marc* **14**

**How to say 'I'**
*by Eliane Amado Lévy-Valensi* **17**

**The Ajasé complex**
*by Etienne Barral* **20**

**Africa: the healer's art**
*by Anne-Marie Kaufmant* **30**

**The talking cure**
*by Chawki Azouri* **34**

**Russia: the revenge of subjectivity**
*by Aleksandr Mikhalevich* **36**

**Psychoanalysis in Quebec**
*by Monique Panaccio* **40**

**44** ***UNESCO IN ACTION***
**NEWSBRIEFS...**

**49** ***RECENT RECORDS***
*by Isabelle Leymarie*

**50** ***WORLD OF BOOKS***
*by Edgar Reichmann*

**Cover:**
*The Artist's Mother* (1912), by the Catalan painter Juan Gris.

**23**
**Greenwatch**

**45**
***Commentary***
**by Federico Mayor**

**Special consultant:**
**Sylvie Nerson Rousseau**

"The Governments of the States parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare,
"that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed . . .
"that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.
"For these reasons, the States parties . . . are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives. . . ."

EXTRACT FROM THE PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION OF UNESCO, LONDON, 16 NOVEMBER 1945

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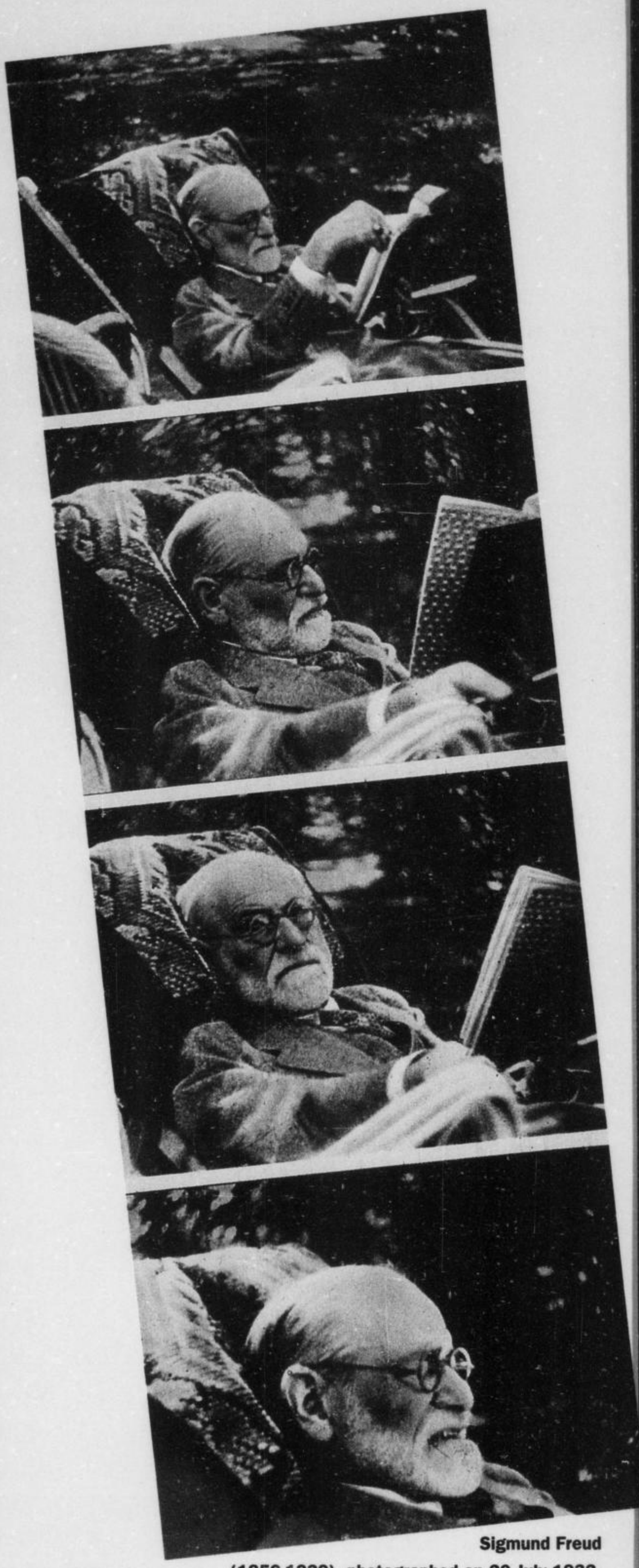
# A LETTER FROM FREUD TO EINSTEIN



**Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), photographed on 20 July 1932.**

**Is there a way of freeing humankind from the threat of war? Can human aggression be channeled to help protect people against the impulses of hatred and destruction?**

**These questions were put to Sigmund Freud in an anxious letter from Albert Einstein dated 30 July 1932, when Fascist and Nazi violence was spreading in Europe. The father of psychoanalysis, whom Einstein described as an "expert in the lore of human instincts", replied two months later, spelling out his thoughts on the psychical foundations of behaviour and defining possible ways in which the conflicts rending humanity could be brought to a halt.**

**Their correspondence was published in 1933, under the title *Why War?*, by UNESCO's precursor, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. With a number of other exchanges between leading thinkers of the day, it constitutes one of the most remarkable initiatives taken by the League of Nations (whose mission was taken over by the United Nations Organization in 1946) to preserve the spirit of peace at a time when it was increasingly under threat. Sixty years on, this little-known document has lost none of its interest or validity. Salient extracts from Einstein's letter appeared in the May 1985 issue of the *UNESCO Courier* entitled *Forty Years After, commemorating the end of World War II.* Now for the first time we publish Sigmund Freud's reply, in slightly abridged form.**

# Why war?

BY SIGMUND FREUD

You begin with the relations between Might and Right, and this is assuredly the proper starting-point for our enquiry. But, for the term "might", I would substitute a tougher and more telling word: "violence". In right and violence we have today an obvious antinomy. It is easy to prove that one has evolved from the other. . . .

Conflicts of interest between man and man are resolved, in principle, by recourse to violence. It is the same in the animal kingdom, from which man cannot claim exclusion; nevertheless men are also prone to conflicts of opinion, touching, on occasion, the loftiest peaks of abstract thought, which seem to call for settlement by quite another method. This refinement is, however, a late development.

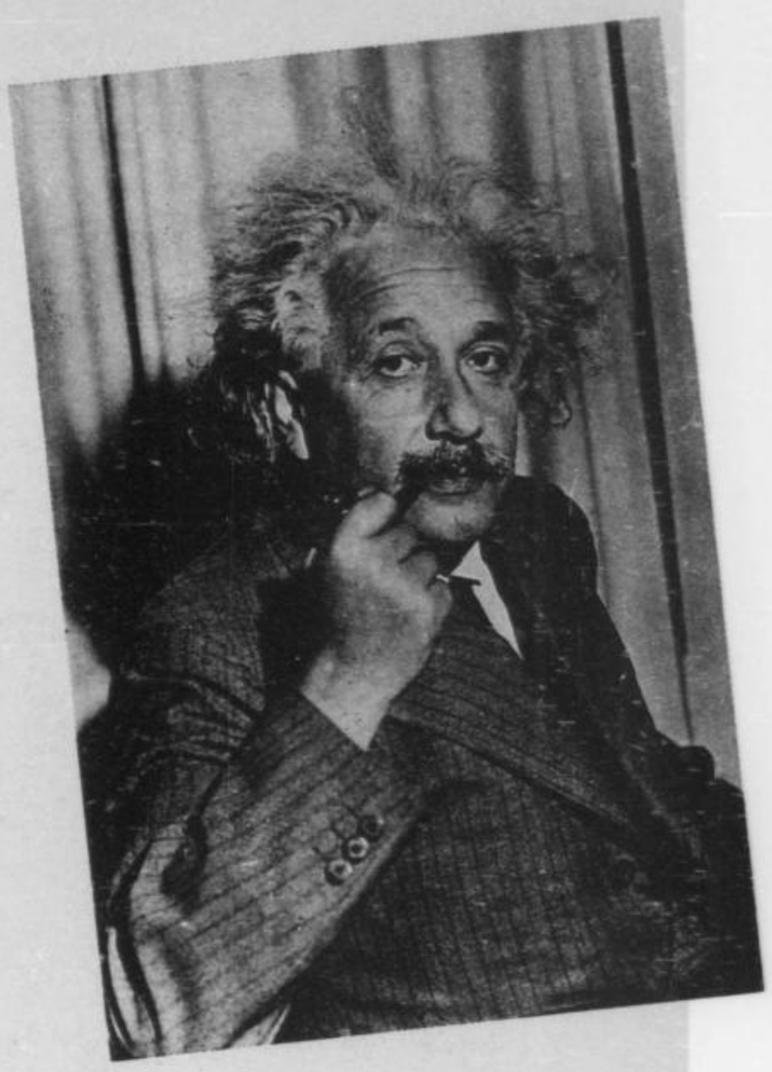
To start with, brute force was the factor which, in small communities, decided points of ownership and the question of which man's will was to prevail. Very soon physical force was implemented, then replaced, by the use of various adjuncts; he proved the victor whose weapon was the better, or handled the more skilfully.

Now, for the first time, with the coming of weapons, superior brains began to oust brute force, but the object of the conflict remained the same: one party was to be constrained, by the injury done him or impairment of his strength, to retract a claim or a refusal. This end is most effectively gained when the opponent is definitively put out of action—in other words, is killed.

This procedure has two advantages; the enemy cannot renew hostilities, and, secondly, his fate deters others from following his example. Moreover, the slaughter of a foe gratifies an instinctive craving—a point to which we shall revert hereafter. However, another consideration may be set off against this will to kill: the possibility of using an enemy for servile tasks if his spirit be broken and his life spared. Here violence finds an outlet not in slaughter but in subjugation. Hence springs the practice of giving quarter; but the victor, having from now on to reckon with the craving for revenge that rankles in his victim, forfeits to some extent his personal security.

## ■ *From violence to law*

. . . We know that in the course of evolution this state of things was modified, a path was traced that led away from violence to law. But what was this path? Surely it issued from a single verity; that the superiority of one strong man can be overborne by an alliance of many weaklings, that *l'union fait la force.* Brute force is overcome by union, the allied might of scattered units makes good its right against the isolated giant.



**Albert Einstein (1879-1955).**

Thus we may define "right" (i.e. law) as the might of a community. Yet it, too, is nothing else than violence, quick to attack whatever individual stands in its path, and it employs the selfsame methods, follows like ends, with but one difference; it is the communal, not individual, violence that has its way.

But, for the transition from crude violence to the reign of law, a certain psychological condition must first obtain. The union of the majority must be stable and enduring. If its sole *raison d'être* be the discomfiture of some overweening individual and, after his downfall, it be dissolved, it leads to nothing. Some other man, trusting to his superior power, will seek to reinstate the rule of violence and the cycle will repeat itself unendingly.

Thus the union of the people must be permanent and well-organized; it must enact rules to meet the risk of possible revolts; must set up machinery ensuring that its rules—the laws—are observed and that such acts of violence as the laws demand are duly carried out. This recognition of a community

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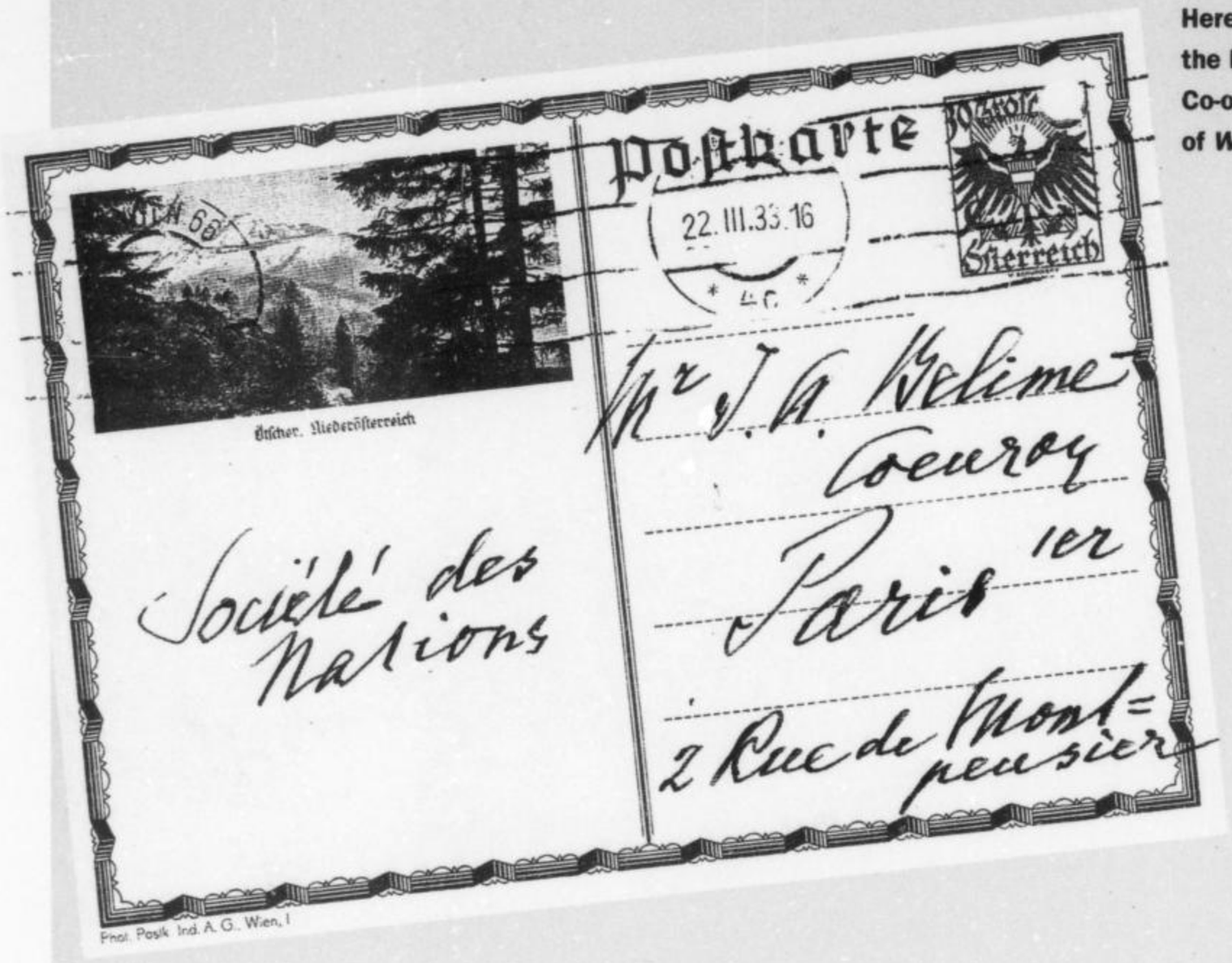
**Translated into English by Stuart Gilbert**




**Here and on pages 46-47: postcards sent by Freud to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in 1933 to acknowledge receipt of *Why War?***

of interests engenders among the members of the group a sentiment of unity and fraternal solidarity which constitutes its real strength.

... Now the position is simple enough so long as the community consists of a number of equipollent individuals. The laws of such a group can determine to what extent the individual must forfeit his personal freedom, the right of using personal force as an instrument of violence, to ensure the safety of the group.

But such a combination is only theoretically possible; in practice the situation is always complicated by the fact that, from the outset, the group includes elements of unequal power, men and women, elders and children, and, very soon, as a result of war and conquest, victors and the vanquished—i.e. masters and slaves—as well. From this time on the common law takes notice of these inequalities of power, laws are made by and for the rulers, giving the servile classes fewer rights.

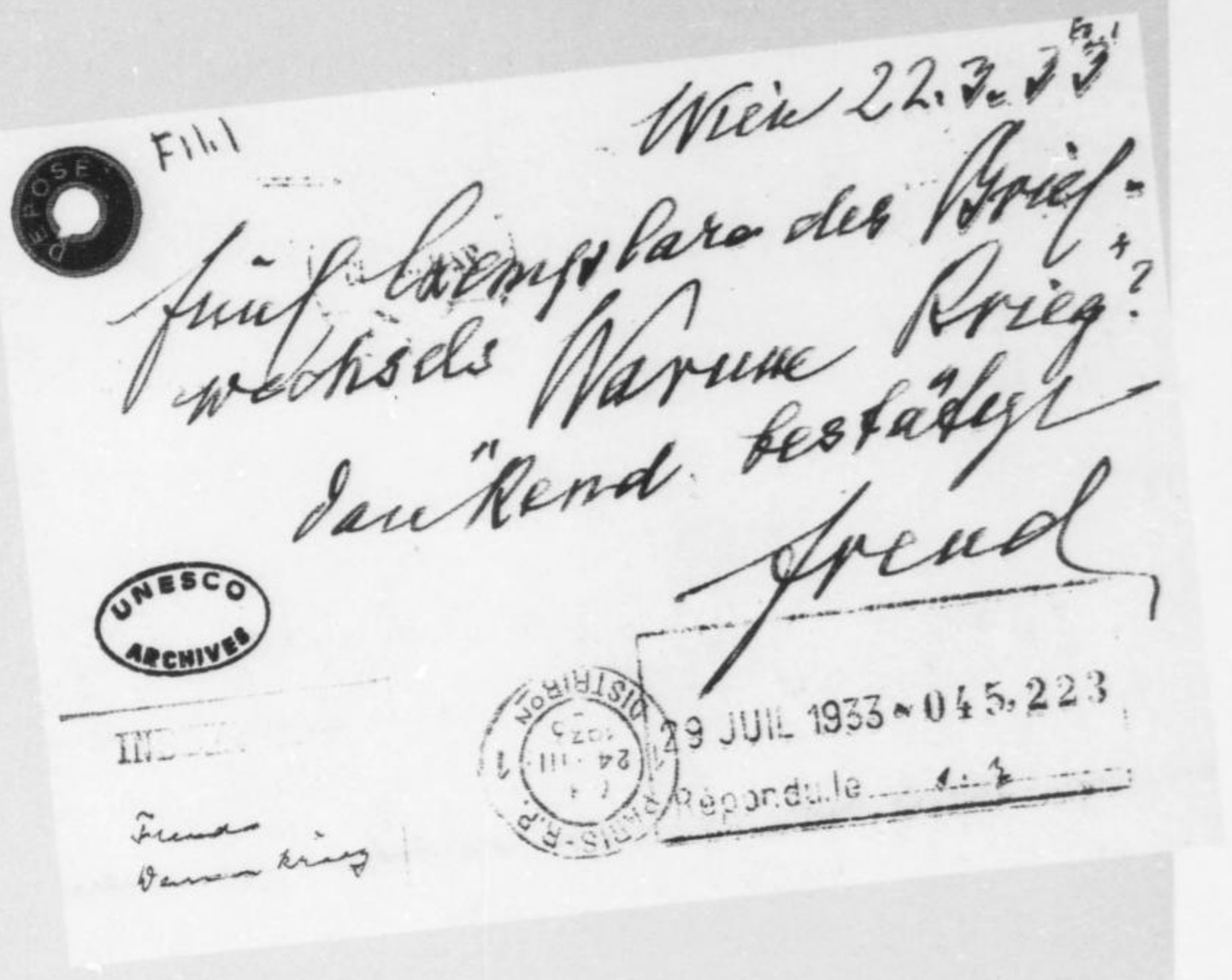
Thenceforward there exist within the state two factors making for legal instability, but legislative evolution, too: first, the attempts by members of the ruling class to set themselves above the law's restrictions and, secondly, the constant struggle of the ruled to extend their rights and see each gain embodied in the code, replacing legal disabilities by equal laws for all.

The second of these tendencies will be particularly marked when there takes place a positive mutation of the balance of power within the community, the frequent outcome of certain historical conditions. In such cases the laws may gradually be adjusted to the changed conditions or (as more usually ensues) the ruling class is loath to reckon with the new developments, the result being insurrections and civil wars, a period when law is in abeyance and force once more the arbiter, followed by a new regime of law. There is another factor of constitutional change, which operates in a wholly pacific manner, viz: the cultural evolution of the mass of the community; this factor, however, is of a different order and can only be dealt with later.

## ■ *A supreme authority*

Thus we see that, even within the group itself, the exercise of violence cannot be avoided when conflicting interests are at stake. But the common needs and habits of men who live in fellowship under the same sky favour a speedy issue of such conflicts and, this being so, the possibilities of peaceful solutions make steady progress. Yet the most casual glance at world history will show an unending series of conflicts between one community and another or a group of others, between large and smaller units, between cities, countries, races, tribes and kingdoms, almost all of which were settled by the ordeal of war. Such wars end either in pillage or in conquest and its fruits, the downfall of the loser.

No single all-embracing judgement can be passed on these wars of aggrandisement. Some, like the war between the Mongols and the Turks, have led to unmitigated misery; others, however, have furthered the transition from violence to law, since they brought larger units into being, within whose limits a recourse to violence was banned and a new regime determined all disputes. Thus the Roman conquests brought that boon, the *pax Romana*, to the Mediterranean lands. The French kings' lust for aggrandisement created a new France, flourishing in peace and unity. Paradoxical as it sounds, we must admit that warfare well might serve to pave the way to that unbroken peace we so desire, for it is war that brings vast units into being, within whose frontiers all warfare is proscribed by a strong central power. In practice,




however, this end is not attained, for as a rule the fruits of victory are but short-lived, the newly-created unit falls asunder once again, generally because there can be no true cohesion between the parts that violence has welded. Hitherto, moreover, such conquests have only led to aggregations which, for all their magnitude, had limits, and disputes between these units could be resolved only by recourse to arms. For humanity at large the sole result of all these military enterprises was that, instead of frequent not to say incessant little wars, they had now to face great wars which, for all they came less often, were so much the more destructive.

Regarding the world of today, the same conclusion holds good, and you, too, have reached it, though by a shorter path. There is but one sure way of ending war and that is the establishment, by common consent, of a central control which shall have the last word in every conflict of interests. For this, two things are needed: first, the creation of such a supreme court of judicature; secondly, its investment with adequate executive force. Unless this second requirement be fulfilled, the first is unavailing. Obviously the League of Nations, acting as a Supreme Court, fulfils the first condition; it does not fulfil the second. It has no force at its disposal and can only get it if the members of the new body, its constituent nations, furnish it. And, as things are, this is a forlorn hope.

Still, we should be taking a very short-sighted view of the League of Nations were we to ignore the fact that here is an experiment the like of which has rarely been attempted in the course of history, and never before on such a scale. It is an attempt to acquire the authority (in other words, coercive influence), which hitherto reposed exclusively on the possession of power, by calling into play certain idealistic attitudes of mind.

We have seen that there are two factors of cohesion in a community: violent compulsions and ties of sentiment ("identifications", in technical parlance) between the members of the group. If one of these factors becomes inoperative, the other may still suffice to hold the group together. Obviously such notions as these can only be significant when they are the expression of a deeply rooted sense of unity, shared by all. It is necessary, therefore, to gauge the efficacy of such sentiments. History tells us that, on occasion, they have been effective. For example, the Panhellenic conception, the Greeks' awareness of superiority over their barbarian neighbours, which found expression in the Amphictyonies, the Oracles and Games, was strong enough to humanize the methods of warfare as between Greeks, though inevitably it failed to prevent conflicts between different elements of the Hellenic race or even to deter a city or group of cities from joining forces with their racial foe, the Persians, for the discomfiture of a rival. The solidarity of Christendom in the Renaissance age was no more effective, despite its vast authority, in hindering Christian nations, large and small alike, from calling in the Sultan to their aid. And, in our times, we look in vain for some such unifying notion whose authority would be unquestioned. It is all too clear that the nationalistic ideas, paramount today in every country, operate in quite a contrary direction. Some there are who hold that the Bolshevist conceptions may make an end of war, but, as things are, that goal lies very far away and, perhaps, could only be attained after a spell of brutal internecine warfare. Thus it would seem that any effort to replace brute force by the might of an ideal is, under present conditions, doomed to fail. Our logic is at fault

**CONTINUED PAGE 46**

# THE HIDDEN I

## by Sylvie Nerson Rousseau

To become individuals in the fullest sense, we must accept an inescapable obligation: to respect that which is human in ourselves.

We each of us accept this "price that must be paid" in our own way, according to priorities fixed by our own imagination. For one person the priorities will be of a legal order—it will be important for that person to feel that he or she is a possessor of rights. For someone else the main thing will be to feel that he or she belongs to a group or has a task to accomplish—this person will see himself or herself above all as a "social actor". Another person may feel that the concepts of integrity and potentiality are essential—he or she will regard himself or herself primarily as an individual.

For the psychoanalyst, one of the aims of treatment is to induce the patient to escape from the grip of what might be called "narcissistic manicheanism"—a self-image that is either totally good or totally bad. From the time when we learn to speak we are obliged to master our impulses in order to serve the ideals of our community. Hence the ambivalence of our condition as creatures who are not good *or* bad, but good *and* bad, since our impulses (unless they are sublimated) are *a priori* opposed to these ideals.

At another level, that of the ethnic, religious, social or national community, this division between good and bad still persists, in spite of the so-called "collapse" of ideologies, in spite of geopolitical changes that might be expected to modify the images peoples have of each other. For Europe—the cultural cradle of psychoanalysis—the spectre of evil that came from the east has changed, but—there as elsewhere—evil is still perceived as something that originates in others. Nothing seems capable of shaking people's conviction that what is bad comes from outside them. However, it is through encountering within ourselves the other side of our idealized—or dethroned—image that we become capable of empathy with others.

Psychoanalysis sheds an impartial light on the human psyche. It does not seek to judge, only to define the unconscious mechanisms that govern our acts and our thoughts. This form of understanding of the human mind gives rise to the conception of an innate equality, since *a priori* it situates each individual in an identical position in relation to the real, the imaginary and the symbolic—a position that is only modified by the unique features of each case history. This idea of inherent equality is a fundamental link between psychoanalysis on the one hand and democratic ethics and thought on the other. At a secondary level, historic, social and cultural events transform this generic equality into equality of opportunities or rights.

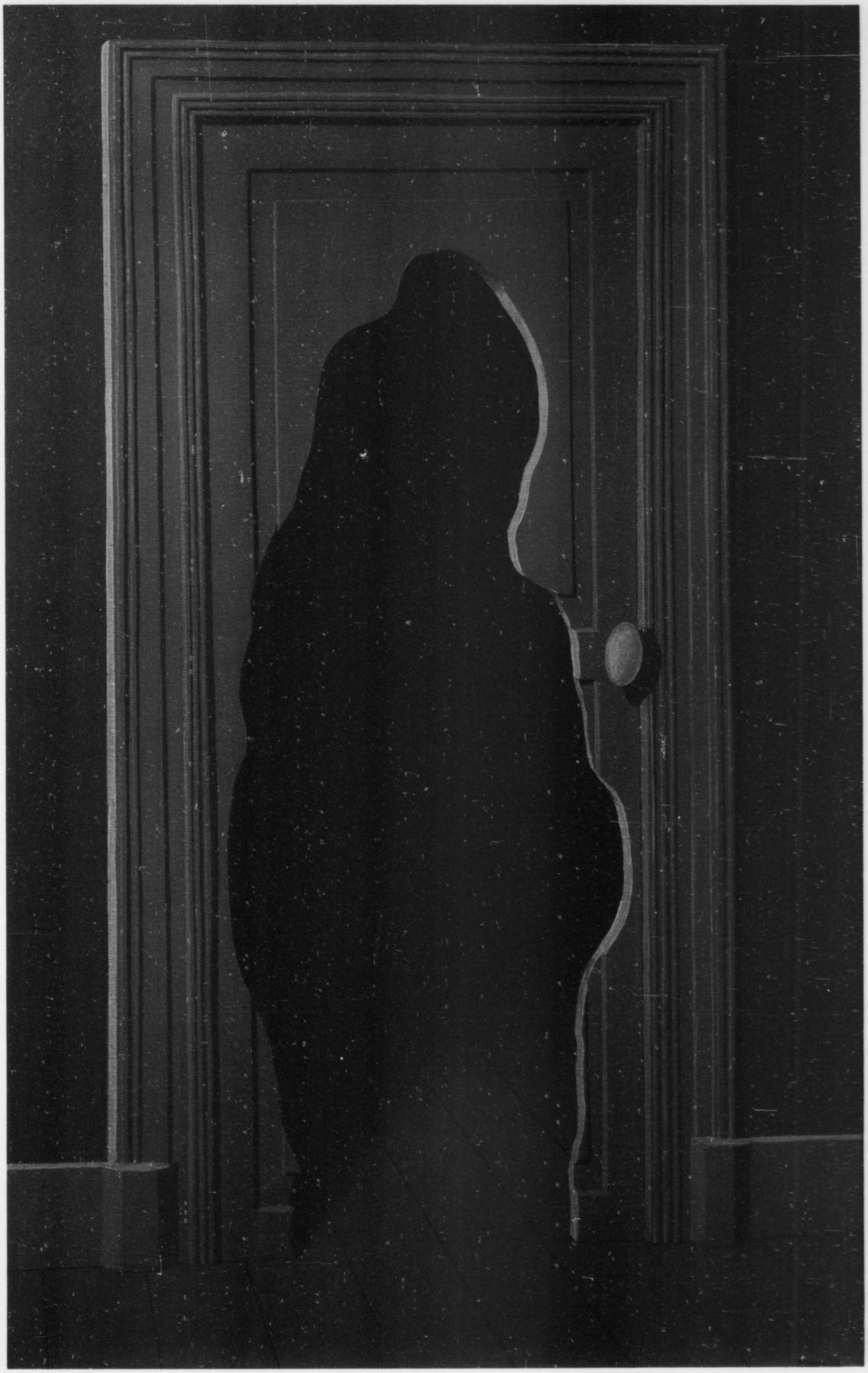
No society—from Japan to Africa, from Canada to Israel, from Lebanon to the stripling Commonwealth of Independent States—is today unaware of the unconscious mind, which in one way or another, albeit in some cases still only indirectly, forms an integral part of any vision of humankind. Perhaps it could even be said that the notion of the unconscious as a central component of the human mind has played a role in the criticisms that have been levelled at certain ways of thinking about society. In Canada, for example, Christianity long took the fact that psychoanalysis stressed the predominance of sexual tendencies as a pretext for strengthening its own prohibitions. The example of the former USSR, another place where psychoanalysis did not flourish, also shows the extent to which psychoanalysis is regarded as a hostile force by regimes whose ideology is based on a denial of individuality and its subjective components.

In addition to its therapeutic effects, psychoanalysis encourages the emergence of fundamental values such as tolerance and respect for historical truth, since experience of it enables those who take part to discover what makes them unique as persons, and to realize the uniqueness of others without feeling threatened.

If the preoccupation with good or bad becomes obsolete, is there not a possibility—or a danger depending on one's viewpoint—that differences will no longer be sufficient to justify inequalities within a community, that the forces of opposition within the community will cease to be radical and become more gradualistic, thereby liberating antagonisms which need to find expression.

Certainly recognition of the unconscious as an essential factor in determining human behaviour cannot serve entrenched positions. Psychoanalysis is not about truth; it is one pathway to human subjectivity. Perhaps too in the post-modern era, it can maintain a tension between emotion and reason, between the subjective point of view and aspirations to absolute objectivity. ■

**SYLVIE NERSON ROUSSEAU** is a French psychoanalyst. She is a consultant to a number of public health organizations and is engaged in the education of doctors and social workers concerned with seropositive and Aids-infected persons. She is the author of a number of articles on psychoanalysis and modern life.



***La réponse imprévue*** **("The Unexpected Response"; oil on canvas, 1933), by the Beigian painter René Magritte.**

# Freud and Freudianism

## by Jacques Hassoun

IF, at the end of the last century, the Czarist empire seemed like a prison camp for ethnic groups, the Austro-Hungarian empire, like the Ottoman empire, was more of a patchwork quilt. In it Ruthenians, Bukovinians, Magyars, Slovenes, northern Italians, Jews, Germans, Galicians, Czechs, Slovaks and Poles together lived out the last decades of an institution that remained splendid, if only in appearance. The area that history was to christen *Mitteleuropa* was to be the birthplace of the works of Musil and Mach, of the Austrian Marxists, of Mahler and Klimt, Schnitzler and Zweig, Arnold Schönberg, Hugo van Hofmannsthal and Sigmund Freud—all of them destined in varying degrees to influence the history of ideas in the twentieth century.

Overshadowed by Stalinism in the east, their works destroyed by the Nazi regime in the north, and accused of superficiality, of challenging obvious facts and institutionalized conventions, sometimes even of sensualist obscurantism, these authors would be (at least for a time) rejected much as the idea of the individual was rejected—the latter being central to a culture in which subversion and ridicule played a bigger part than rebellion or destruction.

What now seems remarkable is that this society, imbued as it was with religious and social prejudices—which many people (such as Mahler), adopted, sometimes (like Otto Weininger) to the point of lunacy—should have managed to produce work of this kind. The work was surely the product of contacts that were not so much haphazard as the result of tensions inherent in that society. Each ethnic group seems to have contained tensions of its own that condemned it to follow where they led but also to encounter the other groups at a crossroads that was the birthplace of an extraordinary culture.

In such circumstances the idea of the individual was bound to come to the fore: indeed, individualism was to modulate the notion of an egalitarian cohabitation of ethnic groups (in which some were evidently more equal than others). But if we may regard individualism as the keystone of the *Mitteleuropa* culture, it was a stone which, far from affording a fixed and stable base, seems to have been balanced

**Above, a postcard dating from 1908 shows Vienna's Opera House and the Ringstrasse, symbols of the ambitious urban planning and the liberal culture that distinguished the city in the 19th century.**
**Opposite page, *Portrait of Emilie Flöge*, a 1902 work by the Austrian master of Art Nouveau, Gustav Klimt.**

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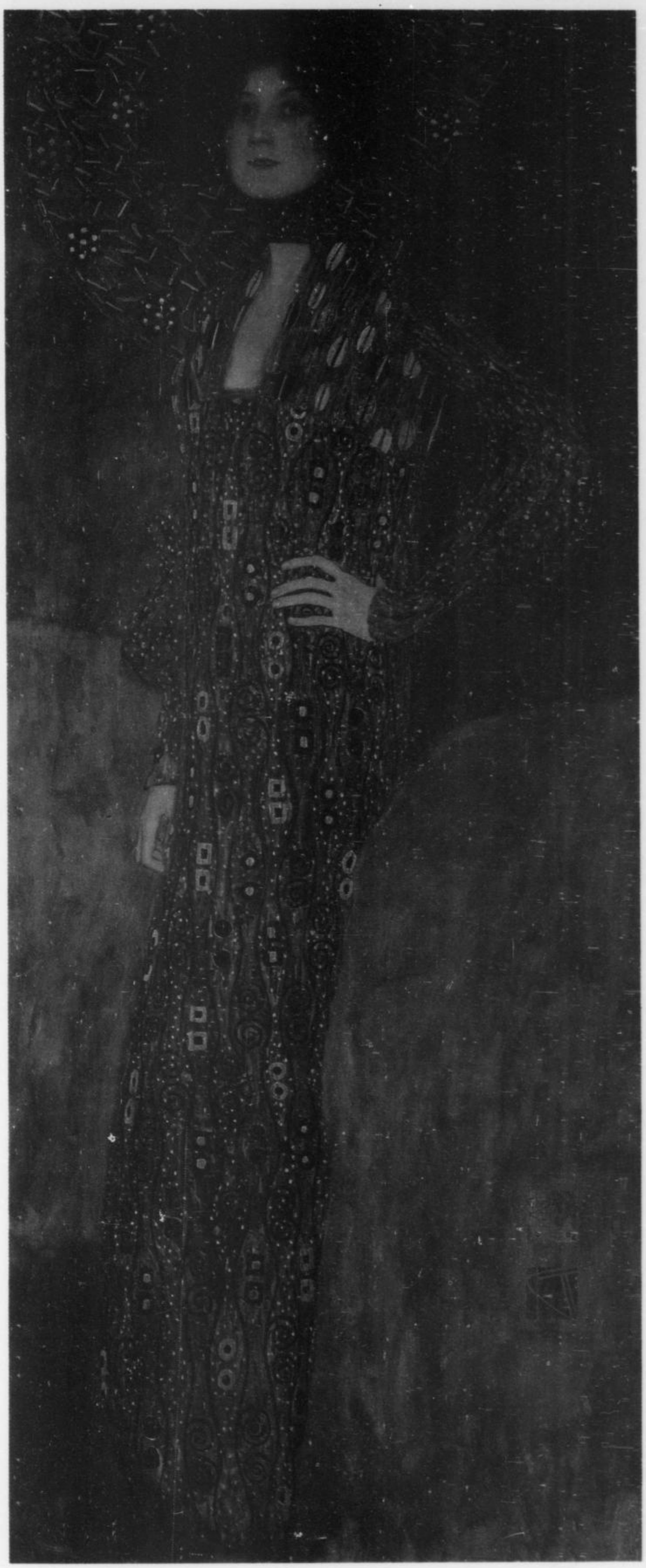
on one corner, allowing it to move about and rotate, and in so doing to give exceptional coherence and quality to the whole structure. So this culture (whose death-knell was sounded by the Anschluss of 1938) could not claim to emanate exclusively from any one of its components, and no one of them could claim exclusive paternity of it. It was in the context of this conjunction that Freud gradually built up his theory of psychoanalysis.

## FREUD'S FIRST CASE

The question that faced Freud at the outset was one that runs throughout Viennese literature and at the same time presented medicine with an insoluble problem, namely that of the hysterical person and his or her isolation. All things considered, it should come as no surprise that "Anna O." (Freud's first case) was actually the celebrated Bertha Pappenheim, one of the earliest German welfare workers, a woman who devoted her life to rescuing Jewish prostitutes abducted from their east European families to stock the brothels of the Ottoman Empire. Anna O. was an example of a socially uprooted woman experiencing the shock of new-found freedom—a shock aggravated by symptoms in whose presence medicine had to confess its impotence. The state of mind of hysterical patients is akin to the situation of individualism under the stress of modernity, in which individuals oscillate between the depths of isolation and involvement in society.

Perhaps it was significant that Ernst Mach, one of Freud's contemporaries, should have said that the subject is "the ephemeral resultant of the interrelationship between complexes of sensations", "made permanent by memory and habit", but continually changed by experience. This is not the transcendental subject of Kant or the concept of the self once so dear to psychologists, teachers and ideologists of good manners. It is also significant that another contemporary, Arthur Schnitzler, a keen admirer of Freud, should have raised the question of hysterical personalities throughout his writings. For evidence we need go no further than Schnitzler's *Fräulein Else* in which, during a long inner monologue played out on the shadowy borders of subjectivity, Else wastes away and dies through her inability to understand and come to terms with reality.

To go further than the medical and psychological thinking of his time, Freud had to take seriously the individuality of the patients who came to him for psychoanalysis. He refused to see the self as a stable, predictable force capable of being moulded by teaching, and wrote that there are some professions that always fail in their aims, such as teaching, tutoring, parenting and of course psychoanalysis, thereby indicating that the person at the receiving end will always elude the good intentions which these figures of authority seek to develop with respect to the Self.



**Scenes from a 1992 Paris production of *Fräulein Else*, a play by the Viennese author Arthur Schnitzler (1862-1931).**

**JACQUES HASSOUN,** an Egyptian-born French psychoanalyst, is a founder member of the Paris Cercle Freudien and a member of the Société des Gens de Lettres de France. Among his recent publications are *Les passions intraitables* (Aubier, Paris, 1989), *Non-lieu de la mémoire—la cassure d'Auschwitz* (with M. Nathan-Murat and A. Radzynski; Bibliophane, Paris, 1990) and *L'histoire à la lettre* (Mentha, Paris, 1991).

Picking his way through the pitfalls of transference, Freud was to turn his attention to the unconscious desires of subjects under the stress of their fantasies and wishes and the ups and downs of childhoods subjected to the mechanisms of repression.

## BEYOND THE FATHER

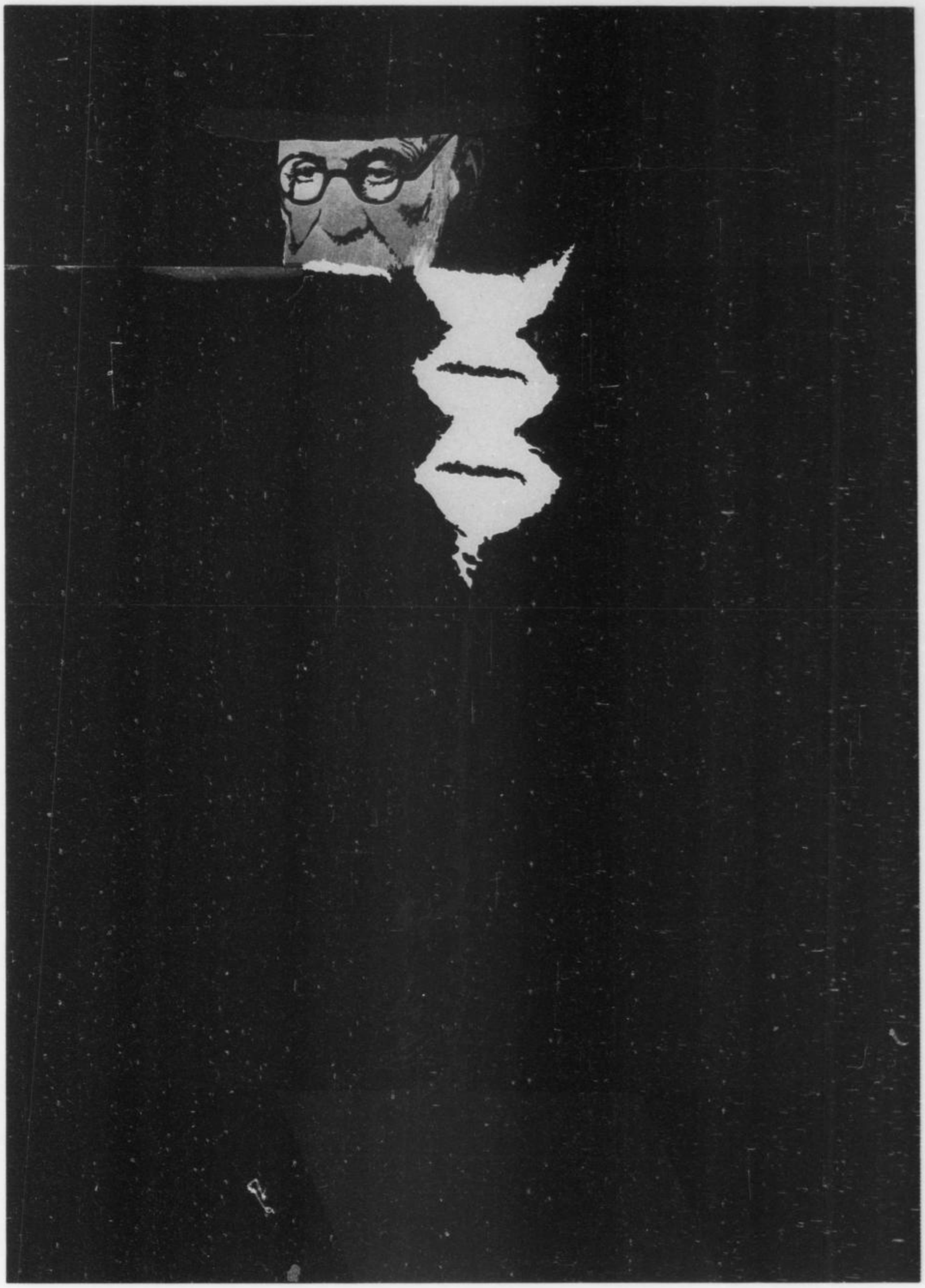
Three main stages can be discerned in Freud's universalization of the concepts revealed by his experience as an analyst.

The first is represented by the studies of hysteria and the science of dreams. Freud started from what his patients told him about their questioning, their slips of the tongue, their abortive acts and the difficulties they experienced in living their lives. Starting from the study of these puzzles, which he regarded as coded hieroglyphs for desires, Freud sought to fit all these odd case-histories into the general theory he wished to develop.

The second stage is the one in which Freud, in *On Narcissism: an Introduction, Mourning and Melancholia* and *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (as also in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* and *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*), raised the question of the subject and his or her "destiny". For him this destiny was nothing more than a transformation of the child's parental figures. At the time when a child's image is created, when it arouses fascination and later when subjectivization occurs, when the child escapes the meshes of maternal desire, the most basic element of its personality is laid down, and that is an unconscious awareness of death. This idea had been put forward by philosophers of classical Greece, and had been used and abused by the Romantics—it illustrates how Greek mythology and German Romanticism both form part of the genealogy of psychoanalysis. But Freud sought to go further. The idea he proposed was that erotic instincts are intermingled with the death instinct via what he called "repetition-compulsion"—a term he used to describe what he believed to be an innate tendency to revert to earlier conditions.

The death instinct is supposedly a human attribute: and hence it operates in the subject not as the opposite of life, nor as a destructive impulse, but precisely as a repetition-compulsion. In this perspective, neurotic illness may be a manifestation of what tends to counter the workings of this instinct. The subject, trapped in repetitive mechanisms, always tends to return to the beaten track, being unable to innovate, as Freud put it*, for fear of coming up against the proposition that "It seems as though the essence of success was to have got further than one's father, and as though to excel one's father was still something forbidden".

One particular form of neurotic activity is a tendency to *repeat in order to transmit*, which overlooks the fact that transmission always presupposes an element of loss. After all, transmitting means that people put to work what they



***Sigmund Freud*** **(1978), a silkscreen print by the French artist Jean de Gaspary.**

have inherited and what they have to pass on to succeeding generations in the certainty that it will be modified—a fact that proves that there is something alive at work that goes beyond a mere pious tendency towards tautological reproduction. Wanting to receive a cultural legacy intact so as to transmit it completely unchanged is surely the problem that afflicts people under the tyrannical sway of idealization. Is this not what religion requires of us, and what political authority demands?

At all events, this is what Freud maintains, and it can be stated as follows: the focal point of psychoanalytical enquiry is the singularity of the individual mind. His theoretical propositions consequently represent in their entirety a break with a totalistic conception of the *collective.*

The third and last stage in Freud's development is the one spelled out in *Moses and Monotheism.* By this time the father had become for Freud the product of conjectures and hypotheses. It is impossible to divorce his tendency to think in terms of symbols from the situation of actual and emotional exile in which Freud found himself during the years of the Nazi pestilence, and which one could also compare to what the subject experiences in psychoanalysis: inner exile, separation, division—in short, all the things we ascribe to the process known as *individuation.* ■

* In "A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis" (letter to Romain Rolland, 1936).

# The inner adventure

## by Olivier Marc

HOW far is science a product of the collective expectation of its time? To what extent does it foreshadow and express the quintessence of a given moment of history? Freud certainly was a man of his time. He invented the human science that his epoch, which had been convulsed by the Industrial Revolution, was waiting for. He even anticipated a need that had yet to make itself felt—the need to return human beings to the centre of history and to the centre of their own selves at a time when they were being made to feel increasingly bewildered and irrelevant by the technology they had created.

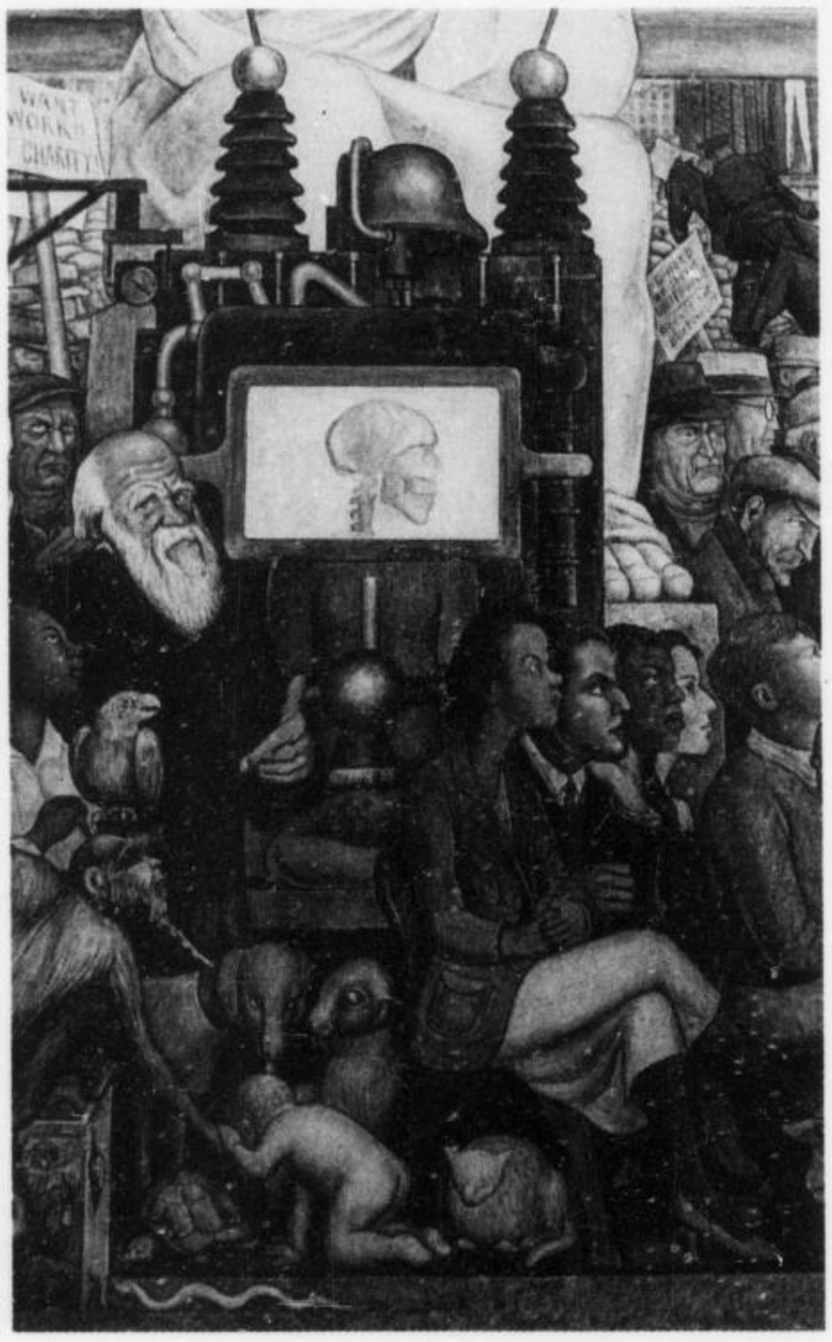
### THE BIRTH OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

The concept of the unconscious was already in the air at the time when Freud created psychoanalysis. But he was the man who brilliantly exploited the idea, which until then had made little headway beyond a closed circle of avant-garde intellectuals and enthusiasts. Generally speaking, the human sciences were then held in low esteem. They aroused suspicions and awakened old fears, justifiably, since they dealt two massive blows to the self-image of the generation that matured around the turn of the century. The first blow fell in 1871 when Charles Darwin published *The Descent of Man*. Man was the species that had conquered the world, that had produced Copernicus and Galileo and the great minds of the Enlightenment, not to mention the many eminent scientists who appeared on the scene in the nineteenth century. How could he be descended from monkeys? It came as little consolation to learn soon afterwards that the great apes were not so much our fathers as our cousins.

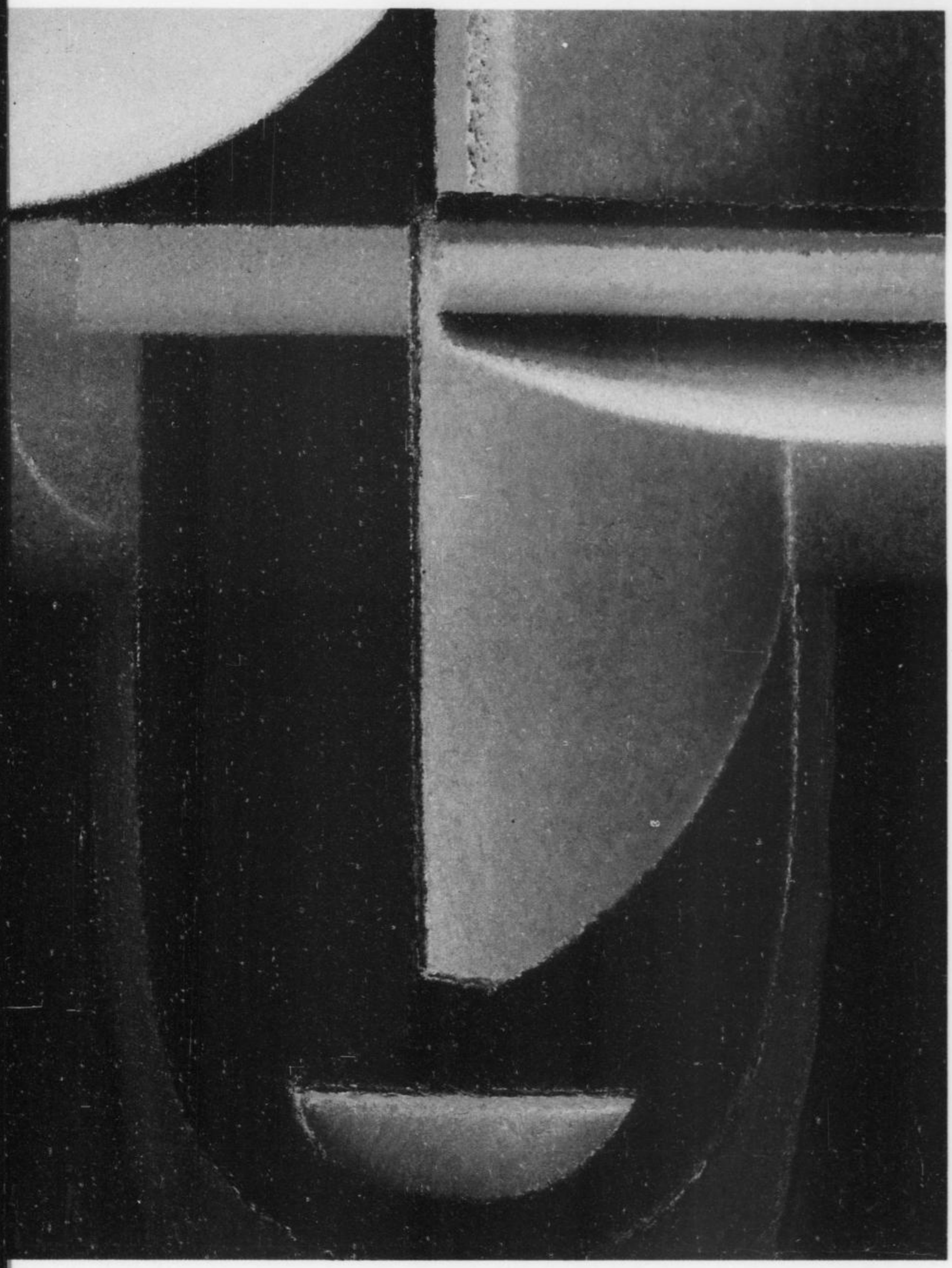
Freud himself delivered the second blow when he drew attention to the fact that *homo sapiens sapiens* (man doubly-wise) had an unconscious, and so could not even be considered to possess self-mastery. Despite the resistance the idea aroused, Freud soon attracted disciples. Carl Gustav Jung, Karl Abraham, Ernest Jones, Sandor Ferenczi, Melanie Klein and Otto Rank all joined his circle.

Freud launched humanity on a journey of inner exploration that matched the contemporary discovery of the external world. At the start of the new century, explorers were probing virgin forests and frozen wastes, climbing the highest summits and plumbing the depths of the ocean. Edouard Branly was pioneering

**Near right, Charles Darwin as represented in a detail from a fresco entitled *Man, Master of the Universe* (1934) by the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera. Far right, *Der Wahnsinn* ("Mental Illness"), a pen-and-ink sketch that in 1913 was reproduced in the review *Imago*, founded by Freud.**



**OLIVIER MARC**
is a French psychoanalyst. He is the author of *Psychology of the House* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1977), *L'enfant qui se fait naître* (with Varenka Marc; Buchet-Chastel, Paris, 1981) and *Premiers dessins d'enfants—les tracés de la mémoire* (Nathan, Paris, 1992).



***Das Wort***
**("The Word", oil on cardboard, 1933), by the Russian painter Alexey von Jawlensky.**

techniques of long-distance communication; Louis Blériot was embarking on the conquest of the skies; Henry Ford was industrializing the manufacture of automobiles.

Although psychoanalysis was at first restricted to a small intellectual elite, it soon started to affect a widening circle of people. The first psychoanalytical society was founded in Vienna, and the second in St. Petersburg, in 1906. Like other forms of associative activity, the new discipline soon developed internal conflicts, the first being that between Freud and Jung, who in 1913 introduced new concepts derived from his studies of different cultures and from his clinical experience of psychosis. Jung's most important innovations were the idea of the collective unconscious as the common ground of humanity reflected in every individual, and the notion of archetypes giving rise to shared symbolic images.

The rise of Nazism and the Second World War shifted the focus of psychoanalysis to London and the English school. D.W. Winnicott, a paediatrician as well as an analyst, was reputedly consulted by no less than 60,000 mothers and children in the course of a medical career that ended only with his death. His lengthy clinical experience with children enabled him to bring fresh insights to a branch of psychoanalysis that had already been firmly established by Anna Freud and Melanie Klein. More recently, Wilfred R. Bion, H. F. Searles,

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**1. Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961), Swiss psychologist, was initially a disciple of Freud's, although their paths later diverged.**
**2. Anna Freud (1895-1982), Freud's daughter, was a specialist in the psychoanalysis of children.**
**3. Jacques Lacan (1901-1981) brought a fresh approach to Freudian theory in France.**
**4. Françoise Dolto (1909-1988), French child psychiatrist.**

H. A. Rosenfeld and others have extended the scope of psychoanalysis, which had been employed by Freud only for the treatment of neurosis, to that of psychosis also.

In France the psychoanalytical world has been divided by repeated schisms, the most important of which was brought about by Jacques Lacan. But a particularly influential figure there in recent years has undoubtedly been Françoise Dolto, a psychoanalyst of children. It is by no means fortuitous that she should have become a public figure, since it had become high time to realize that the future of society rests on the health of its young.

In less than a century, psychoanalysis has had to contend with the racist and totalitarian ideology of Nazism, as well as with Marxism-Leninism, the most influential collectivist philosophy of all time. It was rejected by both, for neither was prepared to permit the individual to escape the net of its communal aims. Liberal society, on the other hand, has proved relatively fertile ground, turning psychoanalysis into an almost commonplace consumer product. At one time in the United States, almost everyone consulted a "shrink" at some point in their lives. But that raised a problem: how was a science devoted to the individual's search for him- or herself, for what Jung called individuation, to accommodate the demands of the growing number of men, women and children ready for its services?

## PSYCHOANALYSIS AND SOCIETY

Today, psychoanalysis plays three principal social roles. It performs a clinical role that is indispensable if it is both to meet the growing needs of individuals and to maintain the experimental tradition needed to improve our understanding of the human mind. It has a cultural function. Itself influenced from its early days by ethnology and mythology, it has in turn enriched all the human sciences, from philosophy, psychology and the study of teaching methods to ethnology, anthropology and sociology.

Finally, it has an exploratory side. It too must continually refer to the other sciences so as not to become imprisoned in a theoretical framework that would soon become arid and ossified if it were not constantly put to the test. The most innovatory currents in psychoanalysis today draw on animal ethology, embryology and physics, whose laws can be verified at every level of the organization of matter, however complex this may be in the case of the human mind.

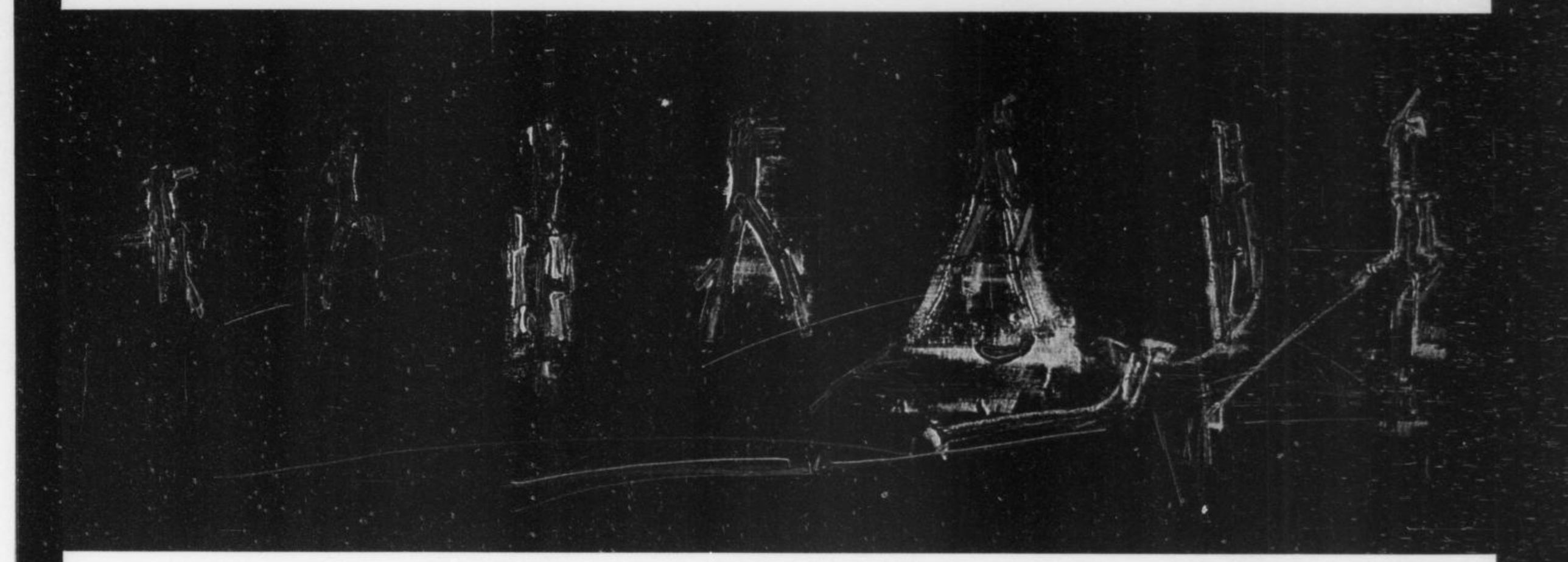
Psychoanalysis is concerned with the individual and nothing else. It thereby respects the principle of liberty and distances itself both from certain psychiatric methods that have been used in totalitarian countries to neutralize freedom of thought and from such neurological procedures as electric shock treatment and other therapeutic systems and the manipulatory situations to which they have given rise.

From a psychoanalytical perspective, the great threat to society today lies at the very moment of birth. Reinforced by the power that intensive care techniques now give them, doctors in general and obstetricians in particular are in danger of forgetting that a new-born baby has no real existence without its mother, since it cannot achieve the status of an independent human being on its own, and that frequent separation at too early an age can cause it more harm even than physical infirmity.

Psychoanalysis has now acquired a body of experimental knowledge that makes it possible to define the periods and rhythms necessary for the healthy development of the individual in the first years of life. Animals know how to respect the gestation periods that are indispensable to the survival of their young. Guided by instinct, mother animals know how to maintain the rhythms proper to their species and to protect their babies from the dangers around them. Human mothers, however, face the threat of losing their instincts and their protective maternal role unless they are given support.

The modern world expects babies to perform substantially beyond their capacities, both physically and mentally. From the moment of birth onwards, they are too often treated like objects rather than beings with special needs, and are forced to undergo repeated trials by separation that they cannot survive without damage to their health. The number of cases of infant psychosis is increasing, and so is the incidence of autism.

Men and women are social beings and, paradoxical though it may seem, the process of socialization has its roots in successfully coping with separation. The most important task facing psychoanalysis today is to show, by warning and instruction, how the process of separation, set in motion at birth and continued first through weaning and then adolescence, can best be weathered through respecting children's essential needs. Only by respecting the needs of its children can modern society attain the degree of civilization to which it aspires. ■



# How to say 'I'

## by Eliane Amado Lévy-Valensi

> We must learn to say 'I' in the first person in a profound sense.
>
> KIERKEGAARD

***The Quest*** **(acrylic, 1990) by the French artist Sylvie Sémavoine.**

THE neurotic's confusion with respect to relationships has been neatly summed up by Jacques Lacan and Françoise Dolto in these two phrases: "Who is speaking to whom?" and "At the start of an analysis, it is not the neurotic who is speaking, and he is not speaking to the analyst." The situation could be described as one of multiple neurosis. Neurotics are a channel—and a blocked channel at that—for fantasies which are initially not so much of their own making as socio-culturally determined. Their self is made up of various ill-coordinated vectors built in to the conflicts that eventually led them to enter analysis. Neuroses never occur in the singular. There is, rather, a nexus of intertwining patterns in which various individualities can be discerned. These individualities may be artificially linked or separated. The significance of each intersects with that of all the others without really shedding light on them; indeed, through an infinite process of interpenetration they may sometimes even conceal one another. In such cases the neurotic material may be likened to a riddle. Freud himself compared dreams to riddles; and before him the Talmud had stated that a dream not interpreted is a letter left unread.

### THE EMERGENCE OF THE SELF

The neurotic message is a coalition of different elements. Patients, unaware of this multiplicity, cannot separate the parts. Eugène Minkowski cites a schizophrenic who was in the habit of referring to himself in the third person, but he was an extreme case. Ordinary neurotics conjugate verbs correctly. They learned language in the usual way, with "me", then "I", being used to replace the first name very early on. On the face of it at least, neurotics are grammatically normal.

However, their individuality is disguised by the masks of their desire to be someone else. During a model course of treatment, the self will travel back to earlier states of mind and rediscover the moment when its future development was set, perhaps even precisely enough to put a date to it. Sometimes, as in the case of the Wolf Man described by Freud,* the symptom relates to an incident that occurred in the individual's prehistory, before the development of memory. The patient's individuality will only emerge after his or her history has been pieced together and he or she has accepted that history. The patient will then no longer use the word "I" in a stereotyped sense, as though it referred to someone else. Instead, uttering it will incorporate an acceptance of his or her stages of development, even including their ambivalence.

But there is no straightforward fairy-tale happy end, with people getting married and having lots of children. The degree of success or failure achieved by psychoanalytical treatment can vary widely. The term "post-analytical Parkinson's disease" has been coined to describe the renewed tension that some patients experience once they have emerged (or think they have emerged) from their multiple neuroses. They look singularly strange in their new clothes. Perhaps they were right to fear this fresh apparel, like Diderot lamenting the loss of his old dressing gown, or like Kierkegaard trying to establish what *Repetition* may be, somewhere between memory and hope: "Hope is a brand-new piece of clothing, stiff and uncomfortable; but as one has never worn it before one does not know if it will fit, or suit one." Kierkegaard felt that people only really feel at ease with repetition, "a garment that never wears out", and is "neither too tight nor too loose."

The pitfall awaiting those emerging from a more or less successful course of psychoanalytical treatment—and the results always fall into

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* In *From the History of an Infantile Neurosis* (1918).

***The Mask*** **(coloured pencil on paper, 1991) by the French artist Denise Fernandez Grundman.**

the category of "more or less"—is to believe that their individuality has been made to emerge, cleansed of its previous phantasms like a well-scoured saucepan. The emergence of individuality is not an illusion, but it may become one if it is treated as a kind of object, encysted within its defining parameters and alienated on the threshold of liberation. Anyone who uses the word "emergence" should not concentrate on what has "emerged" but try to restore to the resultant mental states the momentum that brought them to the surface. Karl Jaspers said that everything hinged on the "sum of time" understood in the fullness of its three terms: past, present and future.

## THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

But while the emergence of individuality can be grasped within the prism of psychoanalysis, it also owes a great deal to ethics, religion, the economy and social and political integration. Psychoanalysis must not be reductive, not become the exclusive dogma it has so often been accused of being. No one theme should be stressed above the others when all are involved in the emergence. The individuality that emerges entails—even demands—a multidisciplinary approach, which is constantly shifting and can at best only be (no pun intended) approached rather than arrived at with any degree of finality. The psychoanalytical process differs qualitatively and quantitatively in each individual case-history.

That is very obvious in Israel, where an immigrant from Ethiopia cannot be analysed in the same way as an elderly patient of Russian origin. In France too, a psychoanalyst cannot use the same language to young workers that he or she would use with students (as I discovered in one of my most memorable professional encounters). In each case individuality takes a very different path towards its own reality. I remember being very struck, at a psychoanalytical symposium on reality, by the evanescent, elusive quality of reality. My feeling is that reality is not a state that can be described, or a series of states that can be recorded, so much as something that, to borrow a Hebrew saying as old as Genesis itself, is always in the making. In this sense, the emergence of individuality is an action plan, a project, the taking in hand of a story whose aim is the winning of its own freedom, which alone can redeem it. It is a time that has to be set in motion once more.

"The wind is rising, we must try to live," wrote Valéry in *Le Cimetière Marin*. But such an attempt implies the mobilization of all the agencies that make us up. Viktor Frankl, who accepted Freud's discoveries in their entirety, rightly added other dimensions to them in his book *The Unconscious God: psychotherapy and theology* in which he superimposed on the repressed instinctual impulses of Freudian theory the repressed impulses of the spiritual, which are equally necessary to the emergence and fulfilment of the individual. The relative importance of one or other form of repression will vary in different cases at different stages of treatment to create an infinite number of combinations, with every possible form of stop and start along the way.

Perhaps the world of politics provides an example of these stops and starts. The message lies in receptiveness to other people, always granted that receptiveness is not unconditional. Ultimately, relating is the important thing.

## RELATIONS WITH OTHERS

It would be impossible to reach a conclusive approach (we must be wary of talking about conclusions) without looking again at the "I"

**ELIANE AMADO LÉVY-VALENSI,** of Israel, is the author of many works on philosophy and psychoanalysis—over 300 articles and 16 books, including *La névrose plurielle* (Aubier, Paris, 1992).

***Multiplicity*** **(charcoal on paper, 1932) by the French artist and writer Francis Picabia (1879-1953).**

which is constructed in childhood, and which needs to be conjugated in the first person "in a profound sense". If one did no more than say "I", the result would be the emergence of a narcissistic, even autistic, individuality. The dialogues of the deaf that ensue are striking evidence of this on the cultural level. In fact the emergence has no meaning except in terms of relationships with others. To say "I" to oneself in a profound sense entails bringing together all the persons involved: the "He", even when absent, the "We" of latent solidarity and, most fundamentally, the "Thou" which reveals me to myself.

Perhaps Martin Buber's book *I and Thou* is relevant here. The world, Buber writes, is not a divine game, but a divine destiny. Pure relationships generate absolute dependency and the fulfilment of a freedom which, by bringing together creator and created, provides a foundation for humankind's creativity by associating it indissolubly with love. Buber locates human relationships—the I and the Thou—in the transcendence of all that pertains to them. He is even prepared to state that we have always known we needed God, but that "God needs you to give your life its meaning specifically through your agency."

Conditioned as we are by all the factors that make up a culture, or alienated by some of them and by all the wrong choices and repressions they entail, we can see that psychoanalysis is an astonishing key with which to open sealed doors. But there are a hundred other doors to the magic palace that shelters the newly-emerged, or new-born, individual identity. Those who think they have arrived after going through the first door are mistaken. ■

# The Ajasé complex

## by Etienne Barral

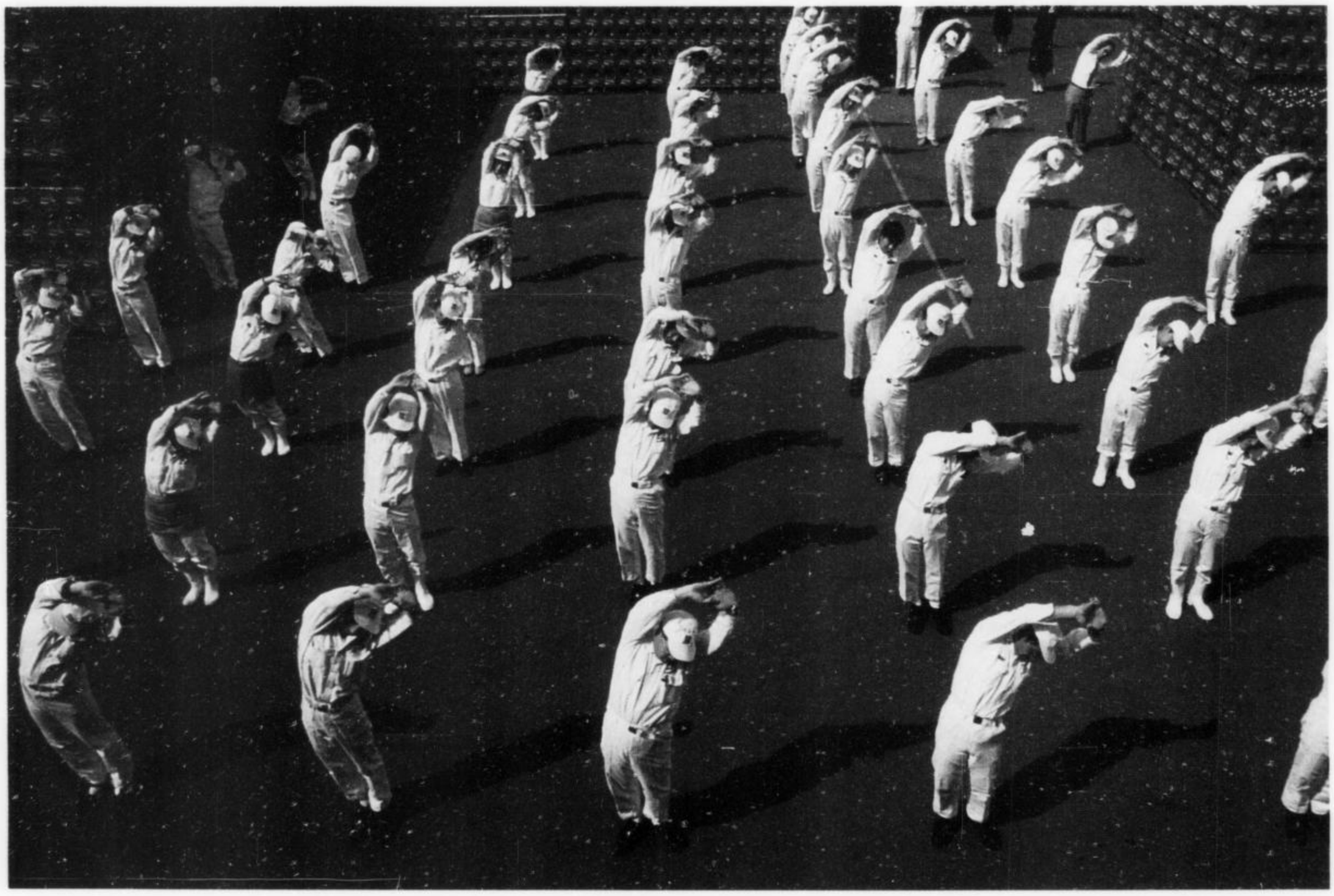
'*DERU kugiwa utareru*," or "One should knock in any nail that sticks out," is a common Japanese saying. The metaphor is symptomatic of the national approach to education. Japanese children are brought up not to rock the boat, not to be different from their neighbours and to conform with other members of the group. It is difficult to talk of the emergence of the individual when principles of this kind are firmly rooted in the national mentality.

When asked about this, Dr. Tooru Takahashi, a psychiatrist at Japan's National Mental Health Research Institute, first puts the individual in context: "Even from a purely grammatical point of view, the Japanese language allows people a choice between several types of 'I'. The 'I' they decide to use depends on the person or persons they are talking to. The individual constantly has to redefine his or her identity depending on who is being addressed—a superior, a work colleague, or a member of the family." The mental gymnastics the Japanese practise in their relationships with other people provide one clue as to why they tend to see themselves less as well-defined individuals than as persons capable of adjusting to their environment. Their ability to adjust arises, according to psychiatrist Takeo Doi, from their wish to avoid conflict with people around them, and thus to be treated indulgently, as a child is by its mother.

### THE AJASÉ COMPLEX

In his book *Anatomy of Dependence*[1], Takeo Doi describes the bond of emotional dependence—*amae*—which in his view greatly influences the way in which the Japanese personality is formed. In a matriarchal society in which the father occupies a very limited place, the relationship with the mother determines a person's psychological development and his or her relations with society. Whereas Western psychoanalytical thinking emphasizes the "castrating"

**Morning gymnastics in a Hokkaido bottling plant (Japan).**



**The mother-child relationship lies at the heart of Japanese society.**

role of the father in breaking into what would otherwise remain a hermetic fusional relationship between mother and child, Japanese psychiatry starts off with an acceptance of this mother-child dyad, which was described by the first Japanese psychiatrist, Dr. Kosawa, as the "Ajasé complex". (Ajasé was a king in Buddhist mythology who wanted to kill his mother.)

When he used the psychoanalytical technique of free association on his patients, Dr. Kosawa discovered that their fantasies did not reveal an Œdipus complex (or wish to kill the father) of the kind he had learned about from Freud in Vienna in 1932. What emerged, rather, was an Ajasé complex. "It is a guilt feeling towards the mother in a relationship of dependence, a feeling you experience after obtaining her forgiveness despite the fact that you have tried to kill her in order to satisfy your hostile wishes," says Dr. Takahashi, echoing Takeo Doi's work on *amae*.

"The archetypal relationship involving *amae* is that between mother and child, but this archetype also structures the relationship between husband and wife, teacher and pupil,

**A 19th-century Japanese print entitled *The Last Look* shows a man gazing out of his window before committing *seppuku*, or ritual suicide.**

and doctor and patient," writes Yves Pelicier, a French specialist, in a preface to a French translation of Doi's book. "There is never any question of equality. The relationship is asymmetrical, which means that it presupposes respect and offers in return the definition of a certain reassuring position or status in the relationship system." What the child, and later the adult, seeks in *amae* is not the independence of the "individual" as it is envisioned in the West, but a relationship of ideal dependence that will earn him or her the indulgence of the mother, then of the group.

"*Amae* is normally what a child feels in relation to its mother when it becomes capable of realizing that she can separate from it," Doi says. But while that feeling indicates both a request for the presence of the mother and a negation of separation from her, it is something that is found throughout adult life in a culture which regards the individual, or "I", as important only in his or her relationship with other people. *Amae* is the wish to restore a lost unity by going out to meet other people.

"The purpose of analysis," Dr. Takahashi adds, "is to grasp the subject's individuality. But the Japanese accept, and even tend to emphasize, the ambiguity of their 'I', which is determined by other people. The analysand does not seek individual independence, which would run counter to the very principles of the way human relationships work"[2].

As for his own patients, Dr. Takahashi finds they chiefly suffer from behaviour problems within groups: "There are two main problems facing my patients: either they tend to deny their individuality completely so as to merge more successfully into the group, or they react against the group to an excessive degree by overasserting their individuality." The bond between the individual and the mother is of the same type as that between the individual and the group: it is a bond based more on the emotions than on reason. As long as this relationship is an emotional one, the individual can seek the indulgence of the group in order to achieve his or her aims. This is why it is important not to create open conflicts, which would break up the harmony of the group to the detriment of each individual's interests.

## THE THREE CIRCLES OF SOCIAL LIFE

The group is of prime importance because it affects and conditions behaviour. But what group, or groups, are we talking about? First there is the circle of people to whom the individual is very close and needs to display no restraint because he or she will always be treated indulgently: this is the world of *amae*. Then there is the circle of friends and colleagues, which is dominated by the need for compromise and the desire for harmonious relations. A certain degree of restraint is required in this circle, one in which individuals become aware of their position within other groups. This is the world of debt, obligation and duty, of mutual favours and devotion, of reciprocity, where emotional interaction must achieve some kind of equilibrium and where there may even be a feeling of understanding similar to the *amae* of the first circle. But anyone failing to observe the rules of this second circle or betraying the trust of the group, which is well-meaning but chiefly concerned with its own evolution, will incur disgrace. The third and most distant circle is the world of "other people", towards whom the individual has no obligations or feelings, and from whom he or she consequently expects nothing. Neither their presence, nor what they think, nor how they view the individual are of any importance. That is why the Japanese seem reserved in the presence of people they do not know, or "strangers". These concentric circles rarely overlap.

Dr. Takahashi also points out that people who come for analysis are not interested in the deeper causes of their neurosis, but simply want the analyst to get rid of its symptoms. That is a further indication of the way in which people

CONTINUED PAGE 29

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# GREENWATCH

THE UNESCO COURIER - MARCH 1993



**Dossier**

23 ▶ THE RIGHT TO CLEAN AIR
*by France Bequette*

26 **World**

**Voices from the past**

28 ▶ THE STORY OF THE SANDS


*Dossier*

# THE RIGHT TO CLEAN AIR

**by France Bequette**

The road from Irkutsk to Lake Baikal crosses the taiga, magnificent, open forestland where in June pine and birch trees rise from a thick multicoloured carpet of flowers. Here and there, however, even in this Siberian wilderness, clusters of yellowed leaves blemish the soft green foliage. Meanwhile, several thousand kilometres away in Athens, Phidias' sculptures in the Parthenon, which had survived 2,000 years of history intact, have been replaced by fibreglass copies after being disfigured by a century of pollution.

Like the Parthenon, the Taj Mahal in India, the Coliseum in Rome and Rheims cathedral in France, the taiga is a victim of what has come to be known as acid rain, caused by emissions of sulphur dioxide

A spruce affected by acid rain in the Vosges region of France.



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# THE RIGHT TO CLEAN AIR

A researcher at Cornell University (USA) holds up sick vine-leaves to demonstrate the toxicity of the ozone that can accumulate in the atmosphere as a result of pollution. In his other hand he holds healthy leaves from stock cultivated in an ozone-free chamber.

and nitrogen oxides from coal-fired power plants and metal foundries, as well as from vehicles and heating systems.

The wind carries these particles over long distances. While the Parthenon sculptures were bound to be victims because they are located in the heart of a city where air pollution is rampant, today even a seeming natural paradise like the Baikal region is affected, graphically demonstrating that our planet is indeed a village. The effects of burning coal with a high sulphur content are not limited to the immediate vicinity in which the coal is burned. Once the smoke-borne pollutants are in the air, they are beyond human control and travel wherever the wind takes them.

Floyd Elder, a Canadian expert on acid rain, notes that the British chemist Robert Angus Smith coined the term more than a century ago. Although the technology at Smith's disposal was rudimentary by today's standards, he demonstrated as early as 1872 that smoke and steam contain substances that cause important changes in the chemical composition of rain. He noted that these changes could be detected not only in the immediate area around the point of emission but also "in the fields, at a great distance from the source." He also discovered some of the harmful effects of acid rain, such as the discolouring of fabrics, the corrosion of metal surfaces, the deterioration of building materials and the withering of plants.

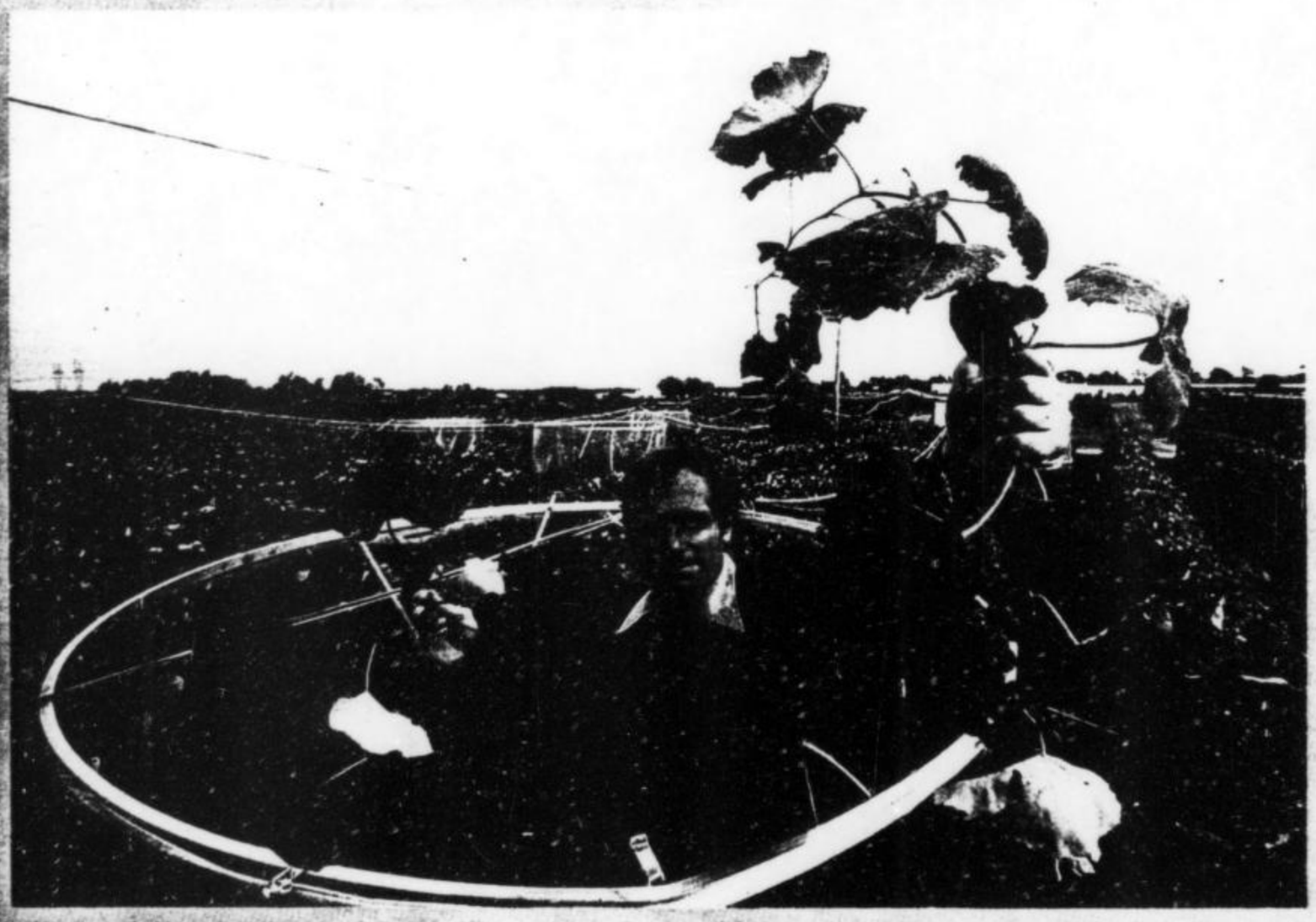
Although the term "acid rain" is evocative, it is often inappropriate: "acid deposits" is more accurate. Drifting air pollutants are deposited not only by rainfall but also by snow, clouds and fog (so-called "wet" deposits), as well as by gases and dust ("dry deposits") during the dry season. Even normal rain is mildly acidic, with a pH that varies between 5.6 and 5.0. (Distilled water has a pH of 7, which is considered neutral. Substances with a pH over 7, such as limewater and ammonia, are alkaline. Those such as wine and lemon juice with a pH under 7 are acidic.)

### *Development fallout*

Despite the early warning given by Robert Smith, industrial countries only began to take acid deposits seriously in the 1950s. In 1953, the Canadian Government launched a programme to study and monitor the water in the lakes of Nova Scotia, where acidity was increasing at an alarming rate. In the 1960s, Scandinavian countries reported that fish populations were declining and that some lakes had even become completely sterile. Trout don't like swimming in vinegar.

In Japan pollution was at its worst after World War II. Between 1946 and 1954, the need to rebuild the country, feed the population and keep factories working called for the use of fertilizers and pesticides, the extraction of raw materials, the burning of fossil fuels, and a dam construction programme. Japan's number one priority was to achieve a high level of development. Pollution would be attended to later.

Four tragic accidents, however, caused the Japanese authorities to take public-health and safety measures. Two of the accidents—at Minamata and Niigata respectively—involved mercury poisoning; the third was linked to cadmium and the fourth to sulphur dioxide. The last case occurred at a time when coal and hydroelectric power were beginning to be superseded by petroleum and petrochemicals. A huge industrial complex was built at Yokkaichi, south of Tokyo. When it went into production, local people began to complain of unpleasant odours, irritating fumes, and soot-marks on their laundry. There was a significant rise in the incidence of





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**A gargoyle disfigured by sulphur emissions on the Canadian Parliament Building in Ottawa.**

asthma, and the phrase "Yokkaichi asthma" was coined. In 1967, studies identified sulphur dioxide released from the smokestacks as the principal culprit. The victims took the six companies involved to court and won their case, gaining compensation and focusing public attention on the dangers of air pollution. In the same year, the Idemitsu Kosan refinery invested some ten billion yen in a desulphurizing facility, the first of its kind in the world, designed to remove sulphur from heavy oil before it was burned, and the Tokyo city authorities established a sulphur dioxide monitoring station in front of the former town hall. The public was alerted whenever the readings reached levels considered dangerous to health—this happened sixteen times in 1968 alone.

The Japanese government responded energetically. It set up an Environment Agency and drew up a strict regulatory system modeled on the Clean Air Act adopted in the United States in 1970. However, a recent assessment by the agency points to the inadequacy of all such controls. The higher the level of a nation's development, the more industries, vehicles, and heating appliances it possesses and the more pollution it produces.

Is this inevitable? In the United States, the Clean Air Act was amended and strengthened in 1990. The atmosphere today contains 23 billion kg of suspended particulates of lead, sulphur dioxide, carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxide and other substances, which means that every man, woman and child inhales 112 kg of particles a year. Economic incentives should make it possible to reduce the figure by two thirds by the year 2005. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency counts among its undisputed successes a substantial reduction in the level of toxic lead emissions since lead was banned from automobile fuel.

Canada is concerned about the winds blowing in from regions of heavy industry across the border in the United States. But foundries in the mining district of central Ontario are also implicated. In the mid-1980s, eastern Canada alone was responsible for the emission of 4.6 million tonnes of sulphur dioxide. Meteorological conditions only make things worse. Heavy winter snowfall traps acids for months. The spring thaw frees a stream of acid into rivers and lakes at the time when aquatic fauna are reproducing, causing sterility and embryo malformation. The forest is also affected: maples and birch trees in eastern Canada are dying.

In 1990, the United States pledged to reduce sulphur dioxide emissions by half. Canada is doing the same. But modern society has a growing demand for energy and industrial goods. Individuals, companies and communities must take stock of the situation and work together to find new and different consumption patterns. ■

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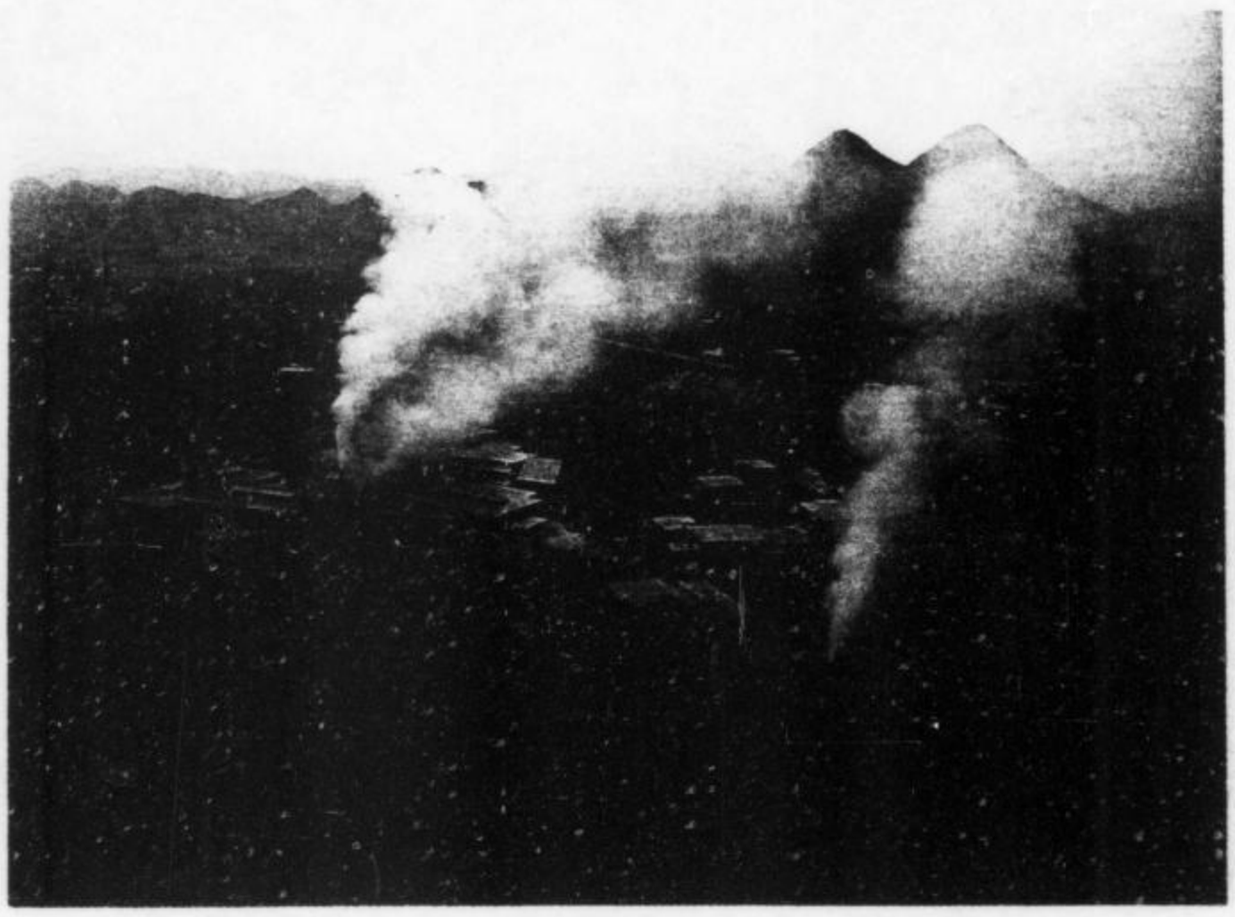


## AIR POLLUTION IN CHINA

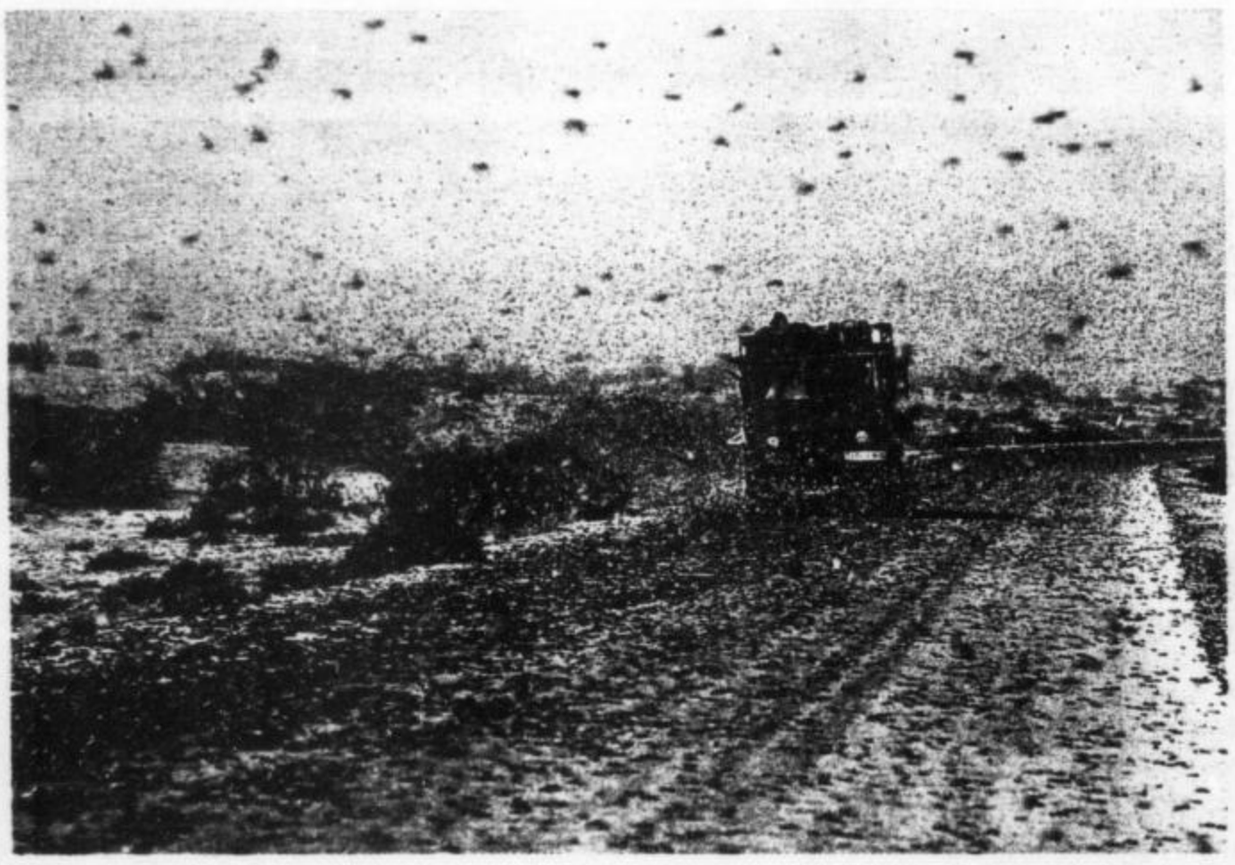
According to the World Bank, heavy industry, traditionally a major source of pollution, still accounts for nearly half of China's industrial output. This situation is seriously jeopardizing the progress that has been made in environmental protection. The Environmental and Economic Policy Research Centre set up under the aegis of the National Environmental Protection Agency faces an uphill job in trying to reduce air pollution. Average particulate-suspension levels measured in China's big cities can be as many as five times the 60-to-90-microgram-per-cubic-metre levels considered acceptable by the World Health Organization. The figure for the city of Xian averages 520, for Beijing 358, and for Shanghai 251. ■

## INFORMATION PLEASE!

The *Unesco Courier* will be happy to publish information from readers about projects to protect the environment, however modest or localized. If you know of an initiative of this kind, please write and tell us all about it—its aims, methods and results. ■

## TRACKING INSECTS BY SATELLITE

In the countries of Africa's Sahel region, it is vitally important to keep watch for invasions of crickets that can devastate the area's meagre crops. The Paris-based Centre for International Cooperation in Agricultural Research for Development claims that remote detection via Landsat, Météosat, NOAA and SPOT satellites can provide a monitoring system that may be highly effective, although the data must be subsequently corroborated on the ground. In 1991 a 300-square-kilometre area in the north of Niger was monitored. It took 80 hours of helicopter flights, 30 hours of plane flights, and 6,000 km of track covered to provide 800 aerial photographs and 300 field surveys. These data were then compared with the images provided by the satellites. Once the invaders have been located, of course, they still have to be eliminated. ■



## CROCODILES IN THE BATHTUB

There is never a dull moment at the Blohms'. For the past 40 years, they have been doing their best to protect one of the five most endangered large reptile species in Venezuela, the Orinoco crocodile *(Crocodylus intermedius)*, and their efforts have included letting sick specimens use the family bathroom to recuperate. Hunting of this species coveted for its skin and even for its teeth, which according to local folklore have medicinal properties, reduced a population that numbered several million at the beginning of the century to some 2,000 animals. Cecilia and Tomas Blohm now breed Orinoco crocodiles in concrete tanks on their 2,500-hectare ranch located in the state of Guarico. In 1992 they released 200 crocodiles into the wild. If their enterprise succeeds, it might be possible to raise the crocodiles on a sustainable basis, so providing a source of protein for the local people as well as helping to save one of the world's twelve most threatened animal species from extinction. ■

## CARDBOARD COFFINS

It can be argued that it is wasteful to fell trees in order to manufacture coffins that may only be used for a matter of hours. In view of the increasingly widespread practice of cremation, Alexander Haas of Switzerland has invented the "Peace Box", a cardboard coffin made from materials that are 60-per-cent recycled. Even if this ecologically-minded initiative has yet to catch on in a big way, it certainly counts as an honourable attempt to use materials "from the cradle to the grave". ■



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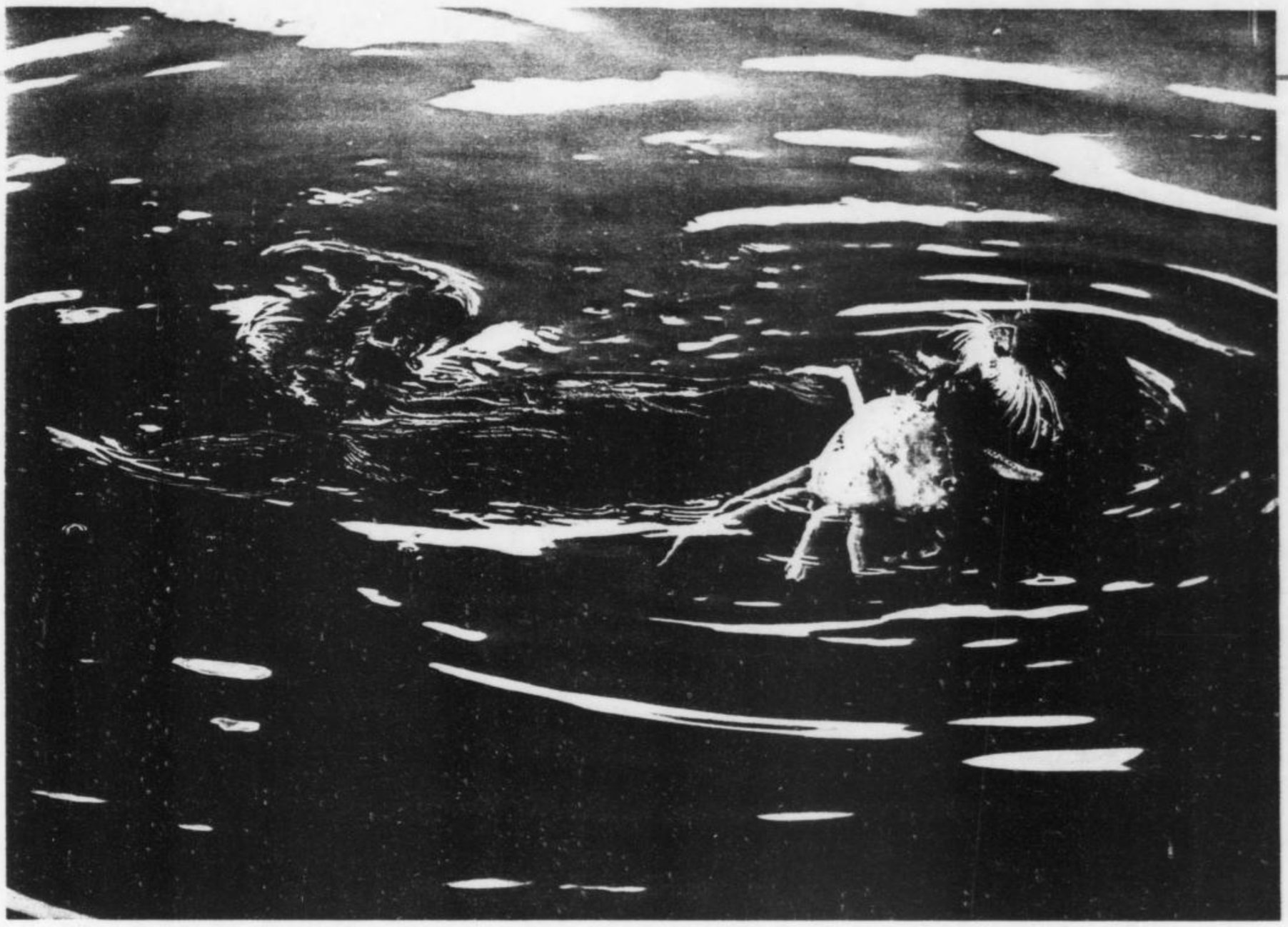

## CANADA RATIFIES THE WORLD CONVENTION ON BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

Canada, which on 4 December ratified the Convention on Biological Diversity signed at the Rio Earth Summit in June 1993, is one of the world's biggest countries. The home of some 70,000 known animal species, it comprises a host of distinct habitats. But a great many of these ecosystems are imperilled. Little tallgrass land is left, while 103 animal species or subspecies are listed as threatened or in danger of extinction, and 20 are extinct. Canada's Green Plan has established a national wildlife strategy designed to protect endangered species and their habitats. A federal policy on the conservation of wetlands adopted in March 1992 defined new wildlife reserves and bird sanctuaries. By the year 2000, the government should have established as many national parks as there are natural regions (39 in all), covering 12 per cent of the country's surface area. ■

## POLLUTION AND THE STOCK EXCHANGE

As of this year, "clean" firms will be selling "pollution permits" on the Chicago stock exchange. This novel system authorizes buying and selling of the right to emit specific amounts of sulphur dioxide, one of the main sources of acid rain. A company that has not used up its maximum emission quota will be allowed to sell the remainder to others, for the highest bid or for a fixed price. The United States Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA) has declared its approval of an initiative that will enable beneficiaries to avoid having to pay fines or suspend operations. ■

## GREEN GASOLINE

With the development of biomass fuels derived from sugar cane or rape seed, green is in fashion, even for automotive fuels. Yet Pierre Delacroix, energy specialist with the nongovernmental organization *France Nature Environnement*, warns that neither the ethanol-gasoline mix used in Brazil nor diester, a fuel for diesel engines currently being studied in Europe, are risk-free. Ethanol by-products may be toxic, while diester contains nitrogen oxide and carcinogenic aldehydes, both hazards to health. Furthermore, as these fuels are based on agricultural crops, production would be likely to call for massive doses of fertilizers and pesticides, without the restrictions on their use applied to food crops. In trying to limit carbon dioxide emissions from conventional fuels, might we not create new sources of pollution? ■

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*Voices from the past*

# THE STORY OF THE SANDS

***Dervish stories are medieval allegorical tales used by the dervishes in Middle-Eastern Muslim orders to illustrate their mystical teachings. This one still forms part of the region's oral tradition and is told in several languages.***

A river which rose in the distant mountains flowed through many lands before it finally reached the desert sands. It tried to overcome this new obstacle just as it had surmounted all others in its path, but it noticed that as it flowed through the sand, its waters disappeared.

It was sure that its destiny was to cross the desert, but how? Then a hidden voice, a voice from the desert, murmured: "The wind crosses the desert. The river can do the same."

The river replied that when it rushed at the sand it was soaked up, whereas the wind could fly across the desert.

"If you leap forward in your usual way, you will not get across. You will only disappear, or become a swamp. You must let the wind carry you to your destination."

The river asked how that could be, and the voice answered, "Let the wind absorb you."

The river found the idea unacceptable. It had never before been absorbed. It did not want to lose its individuality: once it had given it up, how could it be sure to get it back?

"The wind takes care of that," said the sand. "It absorbs the water, carries it over the desert, then lets it fall. The water falls in the form of rain and becomes a river anew."

"How do I know this is true?"

"That is how it is. And if you don't believe it, you will never become anything but a marshland, and even that could take many years. And that is certainly not the same thing as a river!"

"But couldn't I remain the river I am today?"

"No matter what happens, you cannot remain the same," murmured the voice. "The essential part of you is carried off to form a river anew. Even today, you have that name because you do not know what part of you is the essential part."

These words stirred distant recollections for the river. It could vaguely remember a time when the wind had carried it, or part of it at least. It also remembered—but was this really a memory?—that this was what it was meant to do, even if there was no real need.

So the river evaporated into the welcoming arms of the wind. And gently, effortlessly, the wind raised it up and carried it off, letting it fall gently in droplets when they reached a mountaintop many leagues away. And because it had doubted, the river remembered and absorbed all the more acutely the details of the experience. "Yes, I now know my true identity," said the river to itself.

The river was beginning to learn. But the sands murmured: "We know because we see this happen day after day and because we sands stretch out from the river to the mountain."

This is why they say that the ways that allow the River of Life to pursue its journey are written in the sand. ■

■ *The story on this page appears in an anthology entitled* Compagnons du Soleil *("Companions of the Sun") co-published (in French) by* UNESCO, *Editions La Découverte (Paris) and the Fondation pour le progrès de l'Homme. The anthology has been prepared under the general editorship of the African historian Joseph Ki-Zerbo, in collaboration with Marie-Josèphe Beaud.*



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see themselves, which is not in relation to themselves, but to the members of their immediate circle, for whom an absence of symptoms means an absence of disorders. A person with no apparent symptoms runs no risk of being rejected by the group, which is always very concerned not to show any failings.

## THE EYES OF OTHERS

In *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, which appeared in 1946, the American sociologist Ruth Benedict put her finger on the difference between Judaeo-Christian culture, which is based on guilt, and Japanese culture, which is based on shame. Guilt feelings are generated by reference to a given system of moral values, that is to say the struggle between good and evil, notions which are defined and identified as such. Feelings of shame, on the other hand, are produced by the way other people see us. Here again it is the group which dictates a person's behaviour. Takeo Doi comments on Benedict's definition as follows: "Whereas guilt feelings, after arising in the ego, travel outwards in the form of an excuse, feelings of shame originate in awareness of how other people see us and travel inwards, towards the ego." Further on he adds: "[The Japanese] love living as a group. It is extremely difficult for them to dissociate themselves from the group and act on their own initiative. They somehow feel that to act independently is to betray. They are even ashamed to do anything on their own."

Here again there is a parallel to be drawn between the group, which a person feels ashamed to disappoint or be excluded from, and the mother. The sociologist Chie Nakane wrote that a Japanese mother might punish her child by letting it know symbolically that it no longer belonged to the family, that it would have to remain alone as it had not observed the family rules, and that she was "putting the child outside", whereas Western parents are more likely to keep a child at home—"in detention"—as punishment for being too independent-minded.

Given that the ultimate aim of analysis is the process of individuation, it is easy to see why the Western model of psychoanalysis has not really caught on in Japan. As Dr. Takahashi points out: "In Japanese society, the analyst as well as the patient lacks the determination to achieve personal independence. Psychoanalytical treatment gives the patient the means to break free from his or her primary dependence and is therefore in contradiction with the general fabric of human relations in society. That is why it has not yet really become an everyday feature of Japanese life or been fully assimilated by Japanese culture." ■

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1 *Anatomy of Dependence*, by Takeo Doi, translated from the Japanese by J. Bester, Kodansha International, 1982 .

2 *Histoire de la psychanalyse au Japon*, by Tooru Takahashi, Livre de Poche, Hachette, Paris, 1982.

**The ideogram for *Self-control* as drawn by the 19th-century calligrapher Hitsu Juko.**

# Africa: the healer's art

## by Anne-Marie Kaufmant

PSYCHOANALYSIS is not a matter merely of explaining or elucidating what is wrong in people's relationships with their contemporaries and those around them. It is also a therapeutic procedure in which, for the psychoanalyst, it is inconceivable to act against a patient's wishes, and above all to know more than the patient about his or her own case. The psychoanalyst's ethics, in other words, are based on a kind of renunciation of knowledge. When a patient comes to seek help to enable him or her to live a better life, the analyst knows no more than the patient, but waits to be enlightened by what he or she has to say. The psychoanalyst's desire to know engenders a similar desire in the patient: and this enables the patient, rather than waiting for a recipe for improvement, to dismantle the pathological mechanisms at work in him or her in order to alleviate the problems caused by his or her relationship to reality. In short, psychoanalysis is a theory which uses the patient's own words to provide for this or that neurotic symptom an explanation which is by definition individual and personal.

What first strikes a psychoanalyst in Africa is the predominant place occupied by talking. Traditional therapies there are all based on something which—contrary to the claims of some European ethnopsychiatrists—is not mere verbal conditioning designed to make a deviant subject conform to a codified social norm, but a form of verbalization that takes individual account of the patient's problem and its cause.

Nevertheless there is an essential difference between Africa and Europe. Illness in Africa is due to an external force, the supernatural intervention of a jinn, a *zaar* or a *rab* following an offence committed against it or some other deity. So before any treatment you have to know which deity is concerned, what the offence was, and how to make it good.

**An anthropomorphic vase produced by potters of the Bena Kanioka people (Zaire).**

Many European psychiatrists think that once a subject's symptoms have been identified, all that has to be done is to recondition him or her. Each symptom calls for an appropriate medicinal treatment or a stay in an institution which will put everything back to rights. European psychiatrists with experience of psychoanalysis are, like traditional African healers, sceptical about this approach because it bypasses the truth, the root cause concealed within each patient, and merely papers over the cracks—which reopen at the first opportunity. Whenever we have talked to traditional African practitioners and to Western psychiatrists, we have been struck by this emphasis on uncovering the cause, on talking, which allows a person's symbolic landmarks to be put back

in place and completely reorganized so as to make him or her a place in society again.

## CONSCIENTIOUS HEALERS

I shall give two examples of traditional African therapy. The first concerns a Pygmy healer who was approached by a woman who since her husband's death had been subject to fits of delirium and hallucination in which he had appeared to her and enjoined her to look after the house, to make the land he had farmed more productive, and make sure that the children did not squander his legacy. These episodes were accompanied by intense distress and agitation, which cut the woman off from the world—so much so that she neglected her children, one of whom died as a result. Letting this child die, and allowing her legacy to waste away, was obviously the disaster of her life.

The Pygmy healer who saw this woman was thus faced with a case of pathological bereavement. A European psychiatrist would have looked no further, and would have recommended treatment with neuroleptic antidepressant drugs which would have "got rid of the symptom". But the Pygmy healer was not satisfied with this sort of rough and ready approach. It took him several weeks to find out what the problem was. During his long illness, the patient's husband had asked her to go into the forest and gather herbs that might cure him, but pleading shortage of time or money as an excuse the woman had shirked doing so, and after her husband's death this made her feel (with some justification) responsible for his demise. This unconfessed guilt could resurface only in the form of demoniac possession, in which her husband came and reminded her of himself. Once her fault was brought out into the open, she was able through a ritual ceremony to reduce it to its due proportions and make amends for it, and she was soon rid of the hallucinatory bereavement symptoms.

The second example has to do with the treatment of a case of male sterility. A man came to a healer complaining of persistent sterility. From unions with several women he had begotten no offspring, although when they had left him the women had soon managed to procreate. The healer was not content merely to prescribe his patient the simples that would solve the sterility problem. He suspected a psychogenic cause and investigated the matter with him. Some weeks later he uncovered the nub of the matter. The patient admitted that he had met women without the approval of his father, who had several times laid a curse upon him. The healer then sent for the father, got the story out of him and arranged a reconciliation which was made possible by putting the son's fault into perspective. Soon afterwards the son married with his father's agreement, and nine months later a child—the first of many—was born of this union.

Here the patient's relationship to the cause of his problem is easy to spot behind the trivial and treatable symptom. It was only by talking it out that the healer managed to reconstitute the symbolic course of events that led to the disaster—a procedure very close to psychoanalysis. A psychoanalyst is not someone who knows what is subconsciously brewing behind a symptom; he is someone who through his ignorance allows a patient to elucidate what is wrong.

## THE SYMBOLISM OF PAYMENT

Now let us consider the nature of analytical treatment. In Europe it is generally considered that analysis is for those who can afford to pay for it. Freud himself always emphasized that treatment through talking could not begin to work until some form of payment had been made. Payment serves a twofold purpose. It reflects the individual nature of the service asked of the analyst, not so much because he is treating the patient—which is after all his job—as because the treatment requires him to put aside his subjective self and subordinate it to a desire for knowledge which will enable the patient to cure himself. Thus in a pyscho-

**In Burkina Faso, cowrie shells help a healer to diagnose the causes of an illness.**

analytical relationship the payment is the price paid to the analyst for sacrificing—though not forgetting—his subjectivity. Secondly the payment has a loss function. Money paid out is money lost, and in an analytical treatment this means forfeiting the pathological comfort that may be associated with certain symptoms.

In Africa economic problems are always invoked in order to argue that people with nothing obviously cannot be expected to pay. This is to overlook the symbolic dimension of payment, which Freud again emphasized when he urged his pupils to open psychoanalysis to all classes of society. After all, there are plenty of other ways of paying apart from money, such as paying with one's time, through services rendered. Freud used to ask his patients

to do a variety of things, such as bibliographical research, for him. This was taken into account when it came to paying for treatment.

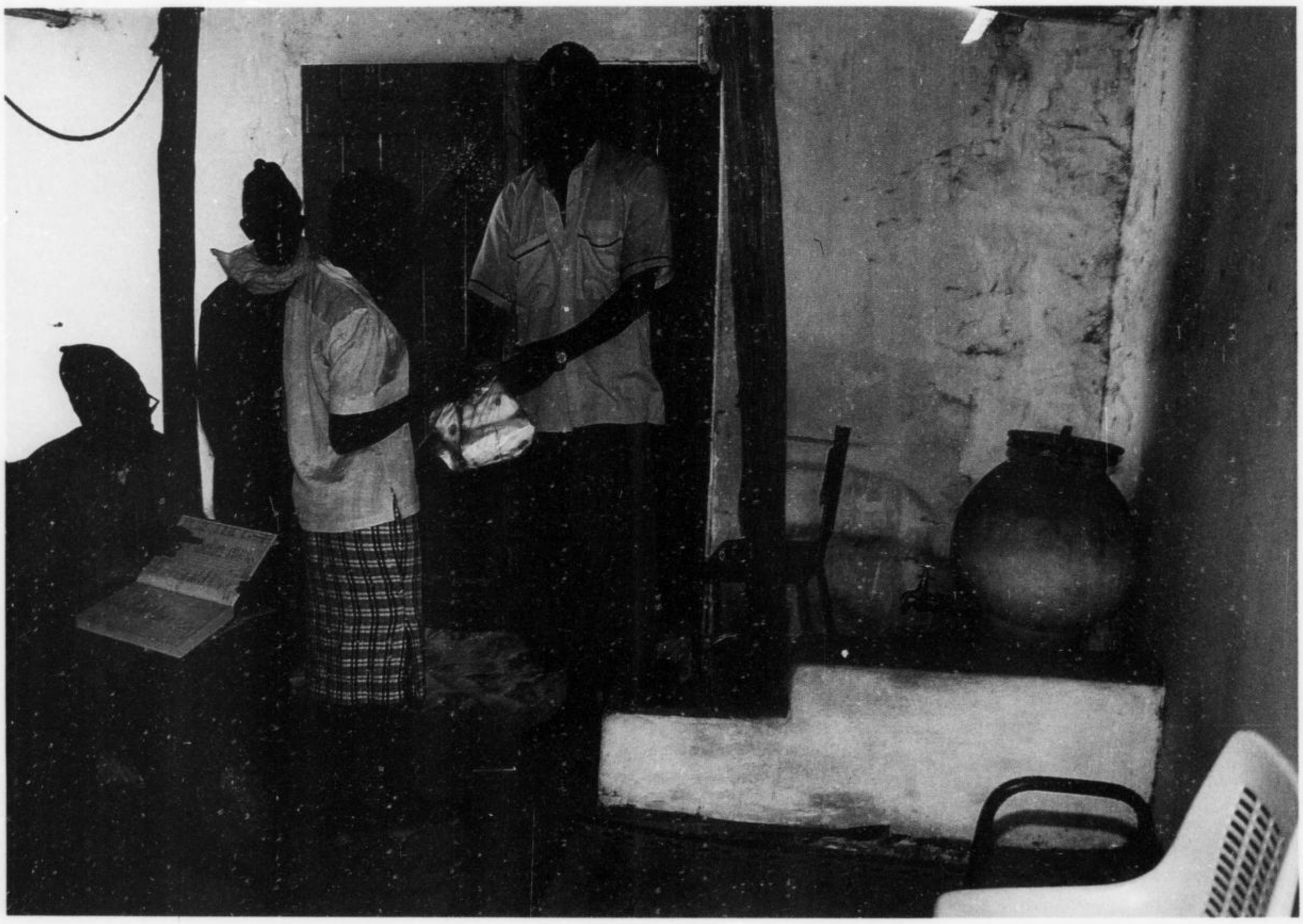
Traditional practitioners in Africa also believe that patients should pay, and that some part of their goods (and of the morbid comfort linked to their symptoms) should be lost. In some African countries psychoanalysis seems to have become acclimatized quite naturally, as regards both recognition of the patient's individuality and also the need to get payment from him or her.

On the other hand a psychoanalyst has no chance of operating in Africa, of following a patient step by step in his or her search for the truth, unless he is thoroughly conversant with the local culture—not from reading textbooks of ethnology but directly, as a result of being steeped in the cultural environment. Hence it seems essential to train therapists who can be at home on the interface between two forms of knowledge: knowledge of the unconscious mind, which evolves a new theory about each patient's relationship with the world, and knowledge of the individual's relationships with his or her parents and family, society, the neighbourhood and the deity—relationships which vary according to ethnic group, culture and period.

Though the mechanisms people use in order to come to terms with reality are the same everywhere, they may be expressed in totally different ways. Superficially there is nothing in common between the way in which a European family organizes its mourning after the death of a child and the way in which African parents who have lost several children contrive to protect an unborn infant from the awful sequence of continual journeys back and forth across the river of life. Ignorance of all these mechanisms lays a European psychoanalyst open to mistaken interpretations; and this is a pitfall into which many technical assistance psychiatrists have fallen. After reading a few books and meeting a few people, they have thought they understood how their patients' minds worked. They might, for example, have regarded a liver complaint in a Hausa man as a trivial hypochondriac symptom, whereas in fact it represented a fundamental assault on the seat of his courage and virility.

## AFRICAN WISDOM

The important thing in Africa is to relate psychoanalysis to all aspects of the culture, to all the accumulated wisdom of an area not yet overtaken by acculturation, where people still understand what the basis of their life is and which family and cultural landmarks they can hold on to. This interface between two types of knowledge should produce an approach to psychology consistent with the African idea of taking responsibility, and also with an analytical ethos which presupposes that the patient is a



**A healer and his patients in Dakar (Senegal).**

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is a French psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. She is a co-founder of a research group concerned with the application of psychoanalysis to psychiatry in French-speaking Africa, where she has contributed to films about traditional mental health care. In Dakar, Cotonou and Paris she directs seminars on concepts of psychoanalysis and the function of speech in African cultures.

responsible being. This would enable Africans, like our European patients (and those of us psychoanalysts who have ourselves trodden that road) to have access to an understanding which is enhanced by taking account both of Africans' culture and of their individuality.

European psychiatry seems to me to have failed by attempting to make generalizations about mental disorders and to use them as guidelines for explaining the African mind. After listening to it with ironical patience, Africans have retained their profound beliefs intact, convinced that the way in which people experience the power of speech is chosen by them and enables them to react to their environment in the way that is most tolerable for them. Psychoanalysis in Europe has been and always will be subversive because it puts the patient before the sacrosanct interests of society. But in Africa we have a continent in which this subversion is skilfully moulded to fit in with a wise and ancient culture, which still believes that technological civilization has no chance of crushing the individual. ■

**A sacred baobab tree in Senegal.**

# The talking cure

## by Chawki Azouri

*I sent my soul through the Invisible,*
*Some letter of that After-life to spell:*
*And by and by my Soul return'd to me,*
*And answered 'I myself am Heav'n and Hell'.*

**The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyam, LXVI**
(translation: Edward Fitzgerald)

SOME years ago, Dr. C., a Parisian hypnosis specialist under whom I was working as a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, asked me to help him by interpreting for a Libyan patient of his whose left arm and leg were paralysed.

The patient had left Libya more than a year earlier and had been shunted from one hospital to another all over Europe. He had undergone the most searching examinations, all of which had ruled out any possible organic causes for his illness. He was eventually diagnosed as suffering from hysteria and was sent to Paris for hypnosis treatment.

The patient, who was twenty-eight years of age and spoke virtually nothing but Arabic, was delighted at being able to talk in his mother tongue to a therapist who understood it. With his few words of English, he had managed to start conversing with Dr. C., who had already given him one hypnosis session before we met. I had three long conversations with him, during which he told me his story. On the day after his second hypnosis session, the patient was extremely agitated and told us that he had woken up during the night in great pain: he had felt acute cramp his left big toe and had been able to move his foot for the first time in a year.

The young man gradually recovered the use of his left foot, which had lost 50 per cent of its muscle volume. At the end of two weeks, he was walking with the aid of a stick. In the meantime, Dr. C. continued his hypnosis sessions and I continued to have conversations with the patient. Two months after he had arrived in Paris, the patient was cured and returned to his own country, where he was initially welcomed like somebody who had been saved by a miracle.

### A FATHER'S CURSE

It is worth going deeper into the story of this young man and his social and cultural background. Before he fell ill, he had had two major conflicts with his father, one over his own marriage and the other over the marriage of his sister.

In a bid to oblige him to marry a cousin against his will, the patient's father had secretly given him a love potion that would also make him obey his father's wishes. Under the effects of this magic draught, the young man went through the marriage ceremony in a trance-like state. "I was happy," he said, "but it was as if someone else was getting married." As soon as the effects of the potion wore off, he separated from his wife, but the same stratagem was again used to force him to go back to her. The father kept on interfering in order to make sure that he stayed with his wife. In the end, the father uttered a threat whose unconscious impact on the son he failed to realize. What he said was: "If you leave your wife again, I shall leave your mother."

The father had wanted the patient's sister to marry his nephew, the brother of the patient's wife. The conflict had then taken a dramatic turn. The sister had been mercilessly thrashed in front of the whole village and had thrown herself out of a window. The patient had tried to come between her and their father who, on seeing his authority challenged, had cried: "She is not your daughter. Get out! You are no longer my son."

In revenge, the rejected suitor, who was both the patient's cousin and his brother-in-law, took away the patient's wife and four children. The patient's in-laws took him to court and accused him of having driven his wife and children from the family home. The case dragged on for some eighteen months, during which time scarcely any heed was paid to the patient's word and good faith. He was sentenced to pay over two-thirds of his earnings to his former wife, just when he was about to undergo surgery on an artificial plate that had been placed in his collar-bone two years earlier following a car accident.

When he came round from the anaesthetic, the poor man was paralysed down one side. The doctors' opinion was that this was due to a lesion in the nervous system of the brachial plexus. Since there were no suitable facilities available in Libya, he was sent to Europe for treatment at the state's expense.

### THE POWER OF MEDICINE

This story is particularly interesting on account of the extraordinary combination of personal and cultural factors at work. Together they conferred on the patient's symptoms a fascination that even the celebrated Professor Charcot would have acknowledged, in a context where psychoanalysis does not exist and where hysteria is branded as malingering.

The failure of leading specialists to cure the patient strengthened his conviction that the doctors did not understand him. He was therefore on the lookout for a magic solution or the intervention of an all-powerful figure. His meeting with Dr. C. was accordingly preordained: the hypnosis treatment reminded him of the spell-like practices to which he had been subjected by his father. The patient saw a parallel between the hypnotic trance and the effects of the potion, and even the effects of the anaesthetic after which he had become partly paralysed.

**CHAWKI AZOURI**
is a Lebanese psychoanalyst. He is a member of the Centre de Formation et de Recherche Psychanalytiques in Paris where, since the Centre's foundation in 1982, he has directed a research seminar on paranoia, institutions and the transmission of psychoanalysis. He teaches at the faculty of medicine at Créteil (France) and is the author of *J'ai réussi là où le paranoïaque a échoué* (Denoël, Paris, 1991) and *La Psychanalyse* (Flash Marabout, Paris, 1992).

As a result of being listened to, he was able to shed light on the relationship which he had established with his symptom. He remembered that the day after his sister had been beaten and gagged by their father and he had released her against the patriarch's wishes, he woke up with bruises on his wrist and ankles, at the same places where the bonds had left marks on his sister's body. Simply talking about this to somebody who realized its symbolic importance made it possible for him to recognize that the marks represented his participation in, and identification with, his sister's suffering.

Similarly, emphasizing the importance of the words spoken by his father—"She is not your daughter. . . . You are no longer my son. . . . If you leave your wife again, I shall leave your mother"—prompted him, without any interpretation from me, to establish a relationship between them and the disappearance of sexual desire after he had become paralysed. Those words awoke in him the horror of incest which he had repressed until then. He took his father's words "She is not your daughter" to mean that it was not he, the son, who had conceived her with the mother, while "You are no longer my son" meant "I release you from the taboo of incest of which I, your father, was the guarantor and by threatening to leave your mother I make possible."

As soon as the court declared that he was divorced, his father's threats took on an Œdipal significance and the patient woke up from the anaesthetic suffering from a hysterical hemiplegia and a loss of all sexual desire.

Hence listening to the patient was instrumental in bringing out a subject which had hitherto only been expressed through massive and serious symptoms. During our last conversations, he said to me: "Nobody has ever listened to me as you have done. When I get back home, I should like to change jobs and learn to do yours."

However, when he did go home, he was again faced with the incomprehension of the medical profession which, recalling the diagnosis of hysteria made by the European specialists before he was sent to Paris, looked upon him as a malingerer, a good-for-nothing and a coward who did not want to work. He was even ordered to repay the costs incurred as a result of his "so-called" illness.

He was compelled to start working again when he had barely recovered. He developed other symptoms, and had to be operated on again. In a manner of speaking, he had to undergo further physical ordeals against his own will in order to prove his good faith and the legitimacy of his suffering. ■

**A hysterical fit as depicted in a late-19th-century medical engraving.**

# Russia: the revenge of subjectivity

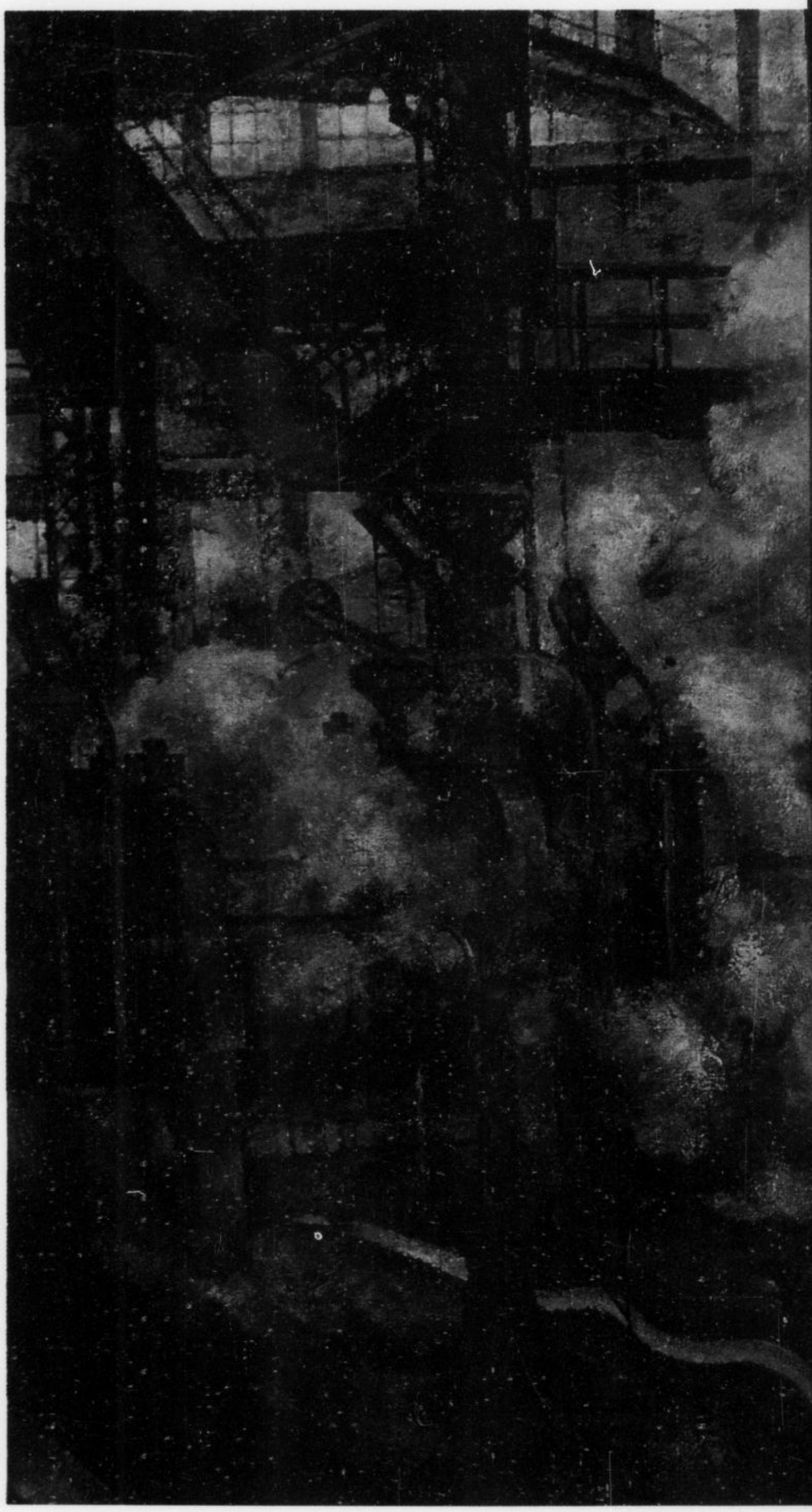
## *by Aleksandr Mikhalevich*

PSYCHOANALYTICAL literature was circulated in Czarist Russia from 1907 onwards by Russian doctors who had been trained in Switzerland, Germany or Austria and had then gone on to practise analysis in their own country. These followers of modified forms of Freudianism strongly opposed the view that the causes of mental illness are constitutional, and were hostile to the pessimistic and lazy attitude which led to confining its victims in asylums. From their experience as practitioners in local communities, they came to believe that there was little point in working on dreams, associations of ideas and sexual and infantile phantasms in an autocratic society that did not allow its subjects any autonomy. Nevertheless, the Czarist censors did nothing to prevent the publication of the review *Psikhoterapiya*, the formation of a medical circle whose meetings were known as the "little Fridays", or the translation of the works of Freud and his disciples.

The Russian Freudians, who were comfortably established in their country's scientific and professional institutions, were reluctant to relate individuals to their psycho-sexual background, to the effects of childhood traumas, or to the conflict triggered off by the remoteness and coincidence of past and present in their experience. They turned instead to psychotherapeutic techniques consisting of a mixture of psychoanalysis (to shed light on the meaning of the symptoms), and of suggestion (to reeducate patients and help them to readapt).

The influence of the "nervism" school formed by I. M. Sechenov and later developed by I. P. Pavlov and V. M. Bekhterev prompted the Russian Freudians to look for a physiological basis for the psychological mechanisms and processes described by psychoanalysis. This reductionist approach tended to make them somewhat distrustful of introspection, to raise the brain reflex to the status of a key concept in scientific psychology and to play down the insights of mentally disturbed people into their own condition.

However, this voluntarist view of the individual as a programmed entity was qualified by clinical practitioners such as Drs. Drosnès, Ossipov, Vyrubov and Pevnitzky, who acknowledged the validity of Freud's discoveries concerning the sexual causes of neuroses. This was tantamount to discovering that the individual had a "psychic reality" which was shaped by the pleasure principle and was impervious to the illusions of voluntarist teaching. At the same



**A factory workshop (1930). Detail from a work by the Russian painter V. Rozhdestvensky.**

time, Freud's disciples applied psychoanalysis to literature and political events, and rediscovered, in the wake of Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy, the pathological motivations underlying certain forms of terrorist and revolutionary action.

## THE BOLSHEVIK-STALINIST PHASE

The new regime that emerged from the October revolution tolerated the existence of a Soviet Association of Psychoanalysis (1922–1931) and a Governmental Institute of Psychoanalysis (1922–1925). Intellectuals living in the big cities and Communist youth organizations realized that Freud could become a useful adjunct to Marx and could justify the sexual freedom favoured by Lenin in a bid to break down the traditional hidebound bourgeois family. Trotsky regarded the works of Freud and Adler as tools that could be used to create a new kind of human being and to provide decisive arguments against the theses of idealism. Medical doctors who were advocates of psychoanalysis, such as A. Zalkind, set out to construct a new form of teaching practice based on the concept of sublimation: since human beings possess a single form of bio-psychic energy, it should be managed in such a way as to derive the maximum benefit from eroticism for collective purposes, and also perhaps to bring about the end of "sexual imprisonment".

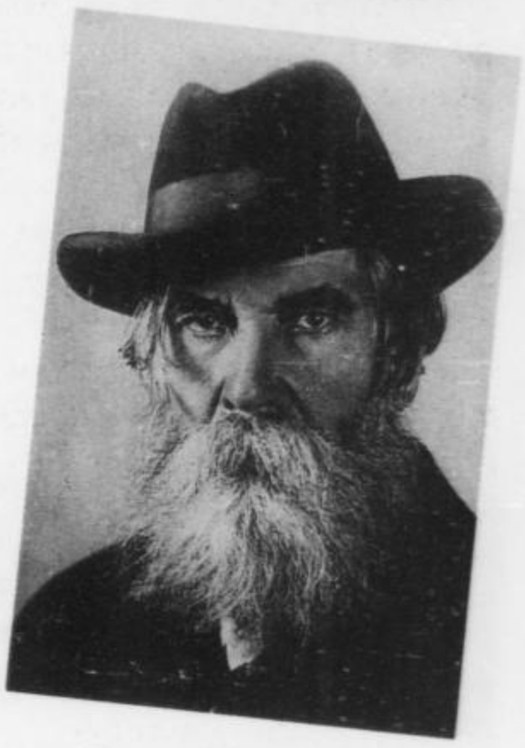
Although it did not share these extraordinary views, the Soviet Association of Psychoanalysis, a club of university teachers and middle-ranking Communist Party officials favourable to Freudianism, worked on possible ways and means of taking prophylactic sociological action. The educationalist Vera Schmidt founded the "International Solidarity" hostel in Moscow in 1922 to experiment with an original approach to the education of the two- to five-year-old children in her charge. The systematic and collective analysis of the counter-transference of educationalists on children went hand-in-hand with the use of teaching methods designed to encourage the development of a sense of reality, cleanliness and personal autonomy, and endeavoured to minimize the repression of the children's sexual drive and the guilt feelings it aroused. However, this non-authoritarian exercise in education was discontinued in 1925. Moreover, after the political eclipse of Trotsky and the end of the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), blind faith was placed in state planning as a means of consolidating and "curing" the human personality.

Even before the Soviet psychoanalytical movement was banned by Stalin, it was already falling apart. Psychoanalysis was condemned as being too long and expensive a process and as imprisoning patients within themselves. In the early 1930s the rejection of all forms of psychotherapy heralded this development, which stifled individual aspirations in the name of industrial efficiency. Naturally, references to infantile sexuality and to phantasms were especially forbidden, since the psychology of the self had been put to death.

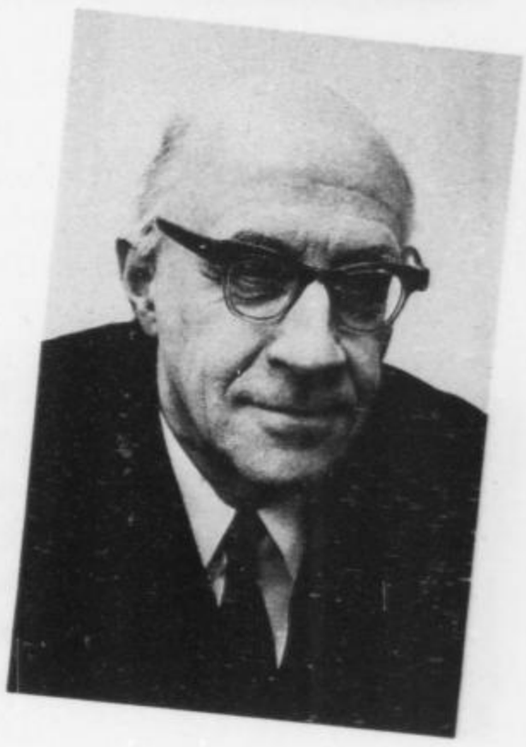
In spite of the reign of terror, researchers made a case for recognizing the specific character of certain individual psychological processes and the existence of an unconscious mind. Novelists such as Yevgeny Zamyatin in *We* and Yury Karlovich Olesha in *Envy* were outspoken enough to claim that the Revolution had given birth to a gulag-like soup kitchen, into which the irruption of sexuality would perhaps thwart the then current process of robotization.

Freudianism was forced underground. It was later to serve as a model for the revenge taken by the individual after the Stalinist era.

**Ivan Pavlov, the great Russian physiologist, in 1926.**



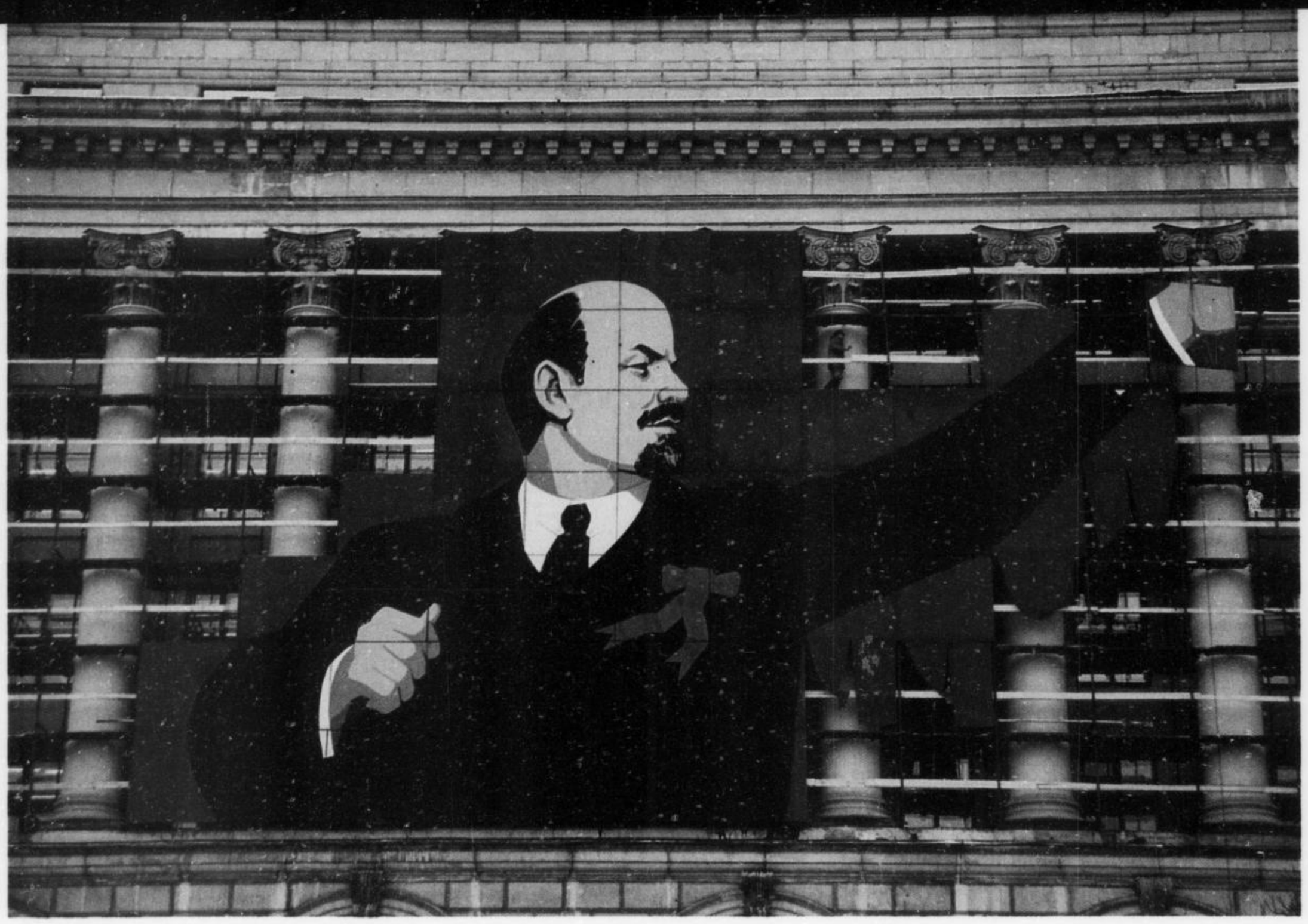
**Vladimir Bekhterev (1857-1927), Russian psychiatrist and psychologist.**



**The neurologist F. Bassin, who encouraged a revival of psychology in the Soviet Union in the 1960s.**

## THE POST-STALIN THAW

In 1958, during the Khrushchev thaw, the neurologist F. Bassin tried to encourage a revival of Soviet psychology and to bring discussions on the



**"Identification with the Supreme Guide crushed the family father figure." A giant portrait of Lenin on the façade of a Moscow apartment block (1988).**

unconscious into line with current thinking. A conference held in Moscow in 1962 gave official status to this attempt to rediscover the subjective by means of a less ideologically-oriented critique of psychoanalysis.

During the cyclical phases of freeze and thaw which marked the evolution of Soviet society significant advances were being made in urban growth, the development of higher education, the relative accessibility of information, and exchanges with the West. In 1968, a paper by Bassin on the *Problem of the Unconscious* attempted, with a measure of official support, to impose a theory of personality which took account of unconscious processes and defence mechanisms such as projection, rationalization, sublimation and repression. However, the new individual forged by Soviet psychology was a subject that was fully developed, balanced and capable of modifying his or her behaviour in order to adapt to the demands of reality. Persistent psychological conflicts, neuroses, and the ravages caused by desire were only marginal occurrences typifying a (pathological) minority of the population. This conception of the individual, which minimized the roles of sexuality and conflict, was upheld until 1969, when a Congress on the problem of the unconscious was held in Tbilisi.

From the 1970s onwards, the Soviet social sciences stressed the fact that the qualitative development of the economy and adaptation to the third industrial revolution that was then beginning to take shape called for a relatively heterogeneous pattern of society and a degree of individual autonomy. This represented the revenge of the personality against the mechanical reductionism which had regarded individuals as strictly social and biological entities. Under cover of social psychology and of the scientific study of collective interactions, the dominant value became one of restricted pluralism.

## PSYCHOANALYSIS UNDER *PERESTROIKA*

From 1985 onwards, a number of Soviet scholars called for the rehabilitation of psychoanalysis, the creation of a scientific sexology, and the publication of the works of Freud. The unofficial practice of psychoanalysis, which until then had only been tolerated, crept back in again through the co-operative system. In 1989, the psychiatrist and endocrinologist Aron Belkin re-established the Russian Association of Psychoanalysis in Moscow. Some ten years before, Belkin had published a work entitled "The Individual and Socialization", in which he denounced the harm done by the totalitarian system under Stalin. In particular, he stressed that identification with the Supreme Guide had crushed the family father figure, forced the individual to regard as diabolical any alternative that was rejected by an authority vested with quasi-sacred power, and eventually caused the death of thought and the blunting of all moral sense. Brief outbursts of aggression had provided the only outlet for the desire for freedom. In "The Soviet Œdipus" (1983), the literary critic E. Kogan attacked what he called "the obsessive identification with the father who had disappeared, the feeling of shame towards the father who had been deported or eliminated as an enemy of the people, and the solitude and wanderings of the son".

Novelists such as Voinovich and Zinoviev have described people of this kind as products of the kickback generation, a world which saw the

triumph of servility and selfishness, envy and resentment. Trainee analysts constantly encounter patients who demand a quick cure, stubbornly refuse to accept their personal autonomy and cannot grasp the liberating value of making payment in exchange for the sessions they received.

This painful emergence of the individual, in parallel with the restoration of psychology and syncretic forms of psychoanalysis, is taking place against a background of social pathology involving alcoholism, an alarming rate of child mortality and flagrant criminal activity. Brutal attempts to introduce economic reform are making life difficult for the artistic and scientific intelligentsia which paved the way for the revenge of subjectivity on the totalitarian model.

One thing is certain. This ambiguous process of social and cultural differentiation has certainly been encouraged by the distant memory of Russian Freudianism and the curiosity that psychoanalysis inspires today in a highly educated society. ■

**"This painful emergence of the individual. . .", long stifled by totalitarianism.**

**ALEKSANDR MIKHALEVICH,** a doctor in psychoanalysis, has published many articles on the history of Freudianism in Russo-Soviet culture, notably in the journal of the International Psychoanalytical Association. He contributed to *La Psychanalyse en Union Soviétique*, a study on psychoanalysis in the Soviet Union (L'Harmattan, Paris, 1992).

# Psychoanalysis in Quebec

## by Monique Panaccio

THE problem of identity runs through the history of Quebec from the earliest colonial times up to the present day, when one of the main issues involved in the integration of Quebec into the Canadian constitution is the recognition of its status as a distinctive society. How was Quebec's identity forged, and how can psychoanalysis contribute to an understanding of its unique history and play its role in the emergence of the individual?

### CATHOLIC AND FRENCH

In the seventeenth century the first colonists of this French outpost whose mission was to spread civilization and the Gospel were themselves for the most part poor and ignorant. They had to survive as best they could in an apparently boundless land plunged in interminable winter. France's hopes of its colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence were soon disappointed. There was no gold and there were no diamonds. All that was left was morality. The Catholic congregations that then proliferated in Europe founded communities in New France, where they could pursue their mission in complete freedom.

Over the ensuing centuries, Quebec was, for better or for worse, to remain Catholic and French. Conquest by the English in 1760; the failure of the republican uprising of 1837, which saw the increasingly influential French-Canadian

**The deportation of the Acadians by the English in 1755 as depicted in an unsigned painting from Louisiana (USA)**

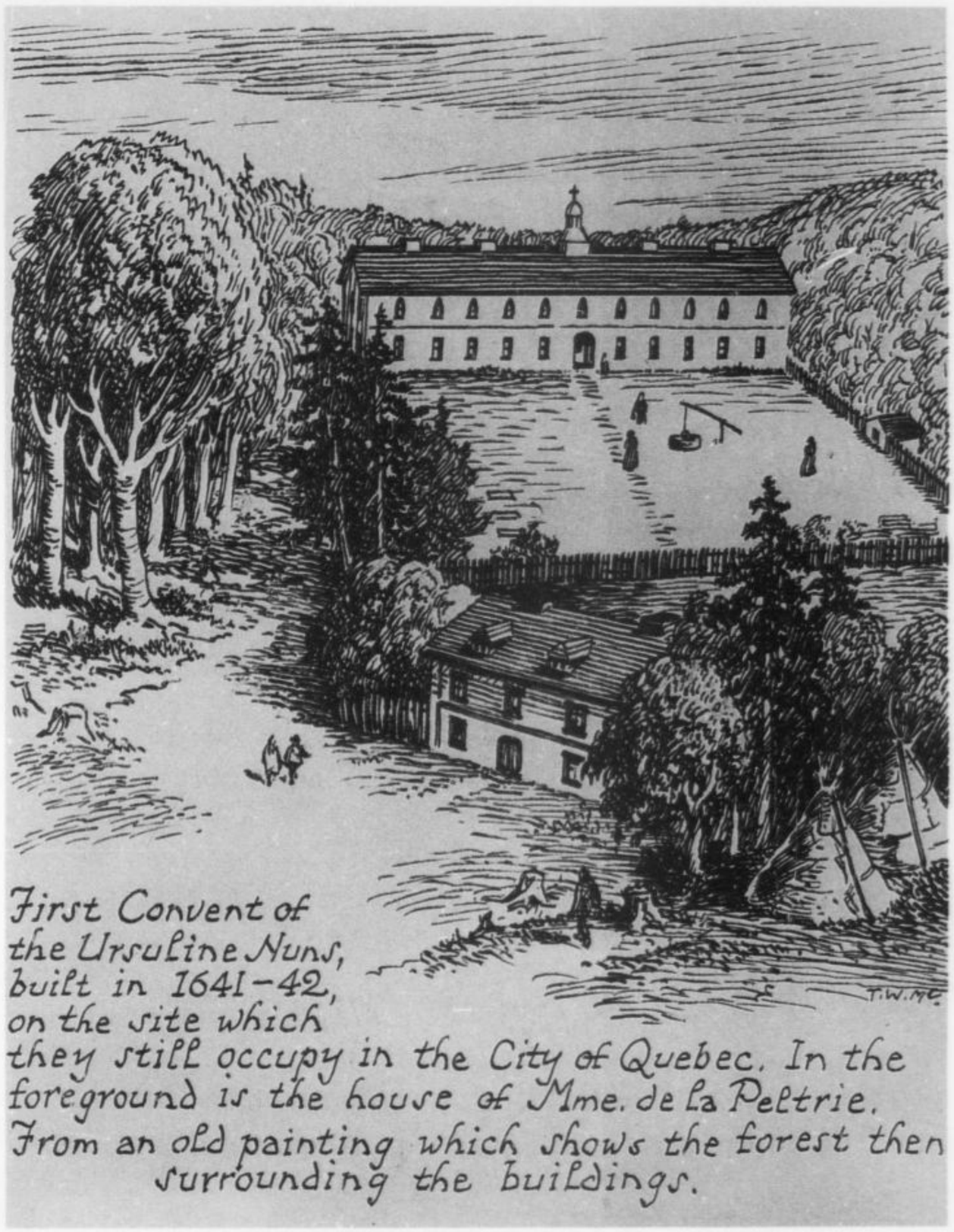
clergy make common cause with the English to protect their divinely-sanctioned powers; even the union of Upper and Lower Canada in a single province whose official language was English—all of these failed to put an end to French culture in America.

Until the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, political and economic power was in the hands of English-speakers, while French-speakers dominated social and religious life. The Church established a monopoly over moral suffering. The religious communities took care of the mentally ill, and as private corporations received in return a daily per-capita sum from the state. It was thus in the Church's interest to maximize the number of inmates and economize on their care. Vast asylums were constructed, self-contained communities that had the legal status of municipalities and Catholic parishes. It was in this field that a conflict of values took place between French-speaking Catholics and English-speaking Protestants. The former had a privileged status in charitable work through their hold over health-care institutions; the latter pressed their claims in the name of progress. In education, two parallel systems were also set up.

In the mid-nineteenth century, when Freud's birth in the Moravian town of Freiberg foreshadowed a fundamental break in the continuum of human thought, Quebec's French-speakers were developing a national mystique under the eye of the Catholic Church, which saw itself as the guarantor of its people's survival.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the clerical elite based its temporal power on anti-semitism, anti-Bolshevism and xenophobia. The religious communities joined forces with the state to promote traditional rural values in face of industrialization, urbanization and social change. Yet it was from within their ranks that the "plague", as Freud himself once described psychoanalysis, began to spread. The first journal to address the subject was *La Revue Dominicaine* ("The Dominican Review"), when it published extracts from a doctoral thesis on *The Bases of Freudianism*. It was the Dominicans too who in 1942 founded the Institute of Psychology at the University of Montreal, which included in its syllabus "the psychological system of Freud".

The religious establishment of the time saw in psychoanalysis a new argument in favour of its cause. If Freudianism teaches that human beings are ruled by impulses that are beyond them, then this is all the more reason why they should turn to




**A pen-and-ink sketch dating from 1859 shows the first convent of Ursuline nuns in Quebec, built in 1641-42.**

**MONIQUE PANACCIO,** Canadian psychologist and psychoanalyst, is a lecturer in the department of psychology at the University of Quebec (Montreal). She is co-founder of Cirque psychanalytique, a psychoanalytical study and training workshop. The author of several articles on madness, clinics and institutions, she contributed to *The Montreal Massacre* (Gynergy Books, 1991) and *La folie comme de raison* (VLB, 1984). She is also the author of a fictional work, *Sous le signe du monstre* (VLB, 1991).

God. But a new generation was coming to the fore in Quebec, one whose members were no longer prepared to put up with economic stagnation, with the introversion and the sense of shame they had inherited from their forebears, with their situation as a submissive colonized people.

## TROUBLED TIMES AND TROUBLED MINDS

The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s transformed Quebec almost overnight. In less than a decade the state's role was enlarged, a clergy-dominated society began to turn away from agriculture, new institutions appeared, and education and social welfare became priority issues. The religious communities could no longer meet the new requirements of an industrializing society. The welfare state was born, bringing with it free social services, education and medicine. This was also the golden age of psychiatry in Quebec. The health service was rebuilt on fresh ideological foundations. The suffering were no longer entrusted to charitable institutions; they became patients in need of care and rehabilitation.

The effects of the challenge to the old values were spectacular. Traditional morality was shattered, people deserted the churches, marriage went out of fashion and demands for a national identity went hand in hand with calls for sexual freedom. Low self-esteem was replaced by unrealistically high self-regard. French Canadians no longer saw themselves either as Canadians—a name which tended to be associated instead with their English-speaking conquerors—nor as French, a word recalling colonial links to the motherland. Instead they became *Québécois*, people of Quebec, and promoted *joual*, the Quebec dialect, as their own language. Quebec welcomed immigrants and opened itself to the world. The time was ripe for artistic and literary creativity and for new ideas of every kind. Relations with France, which had grown somewhat chilly because of the French lay tradition, now became warmer. Young *Québécois* went to France to study and returned home to start work. The group known as *Interprétation*, and the humanities journal of the same name, had their origin in this collaboration between France and Quebec.

**Posters from the 1992 constitutional referendum campaign.**

Many people were disturbed by the rapid pace of social change. In the 1970s and 1980s they were normally offered free, medicine-based psychiatric treatment. Psychoanalysis was not unknown in the hospitals, but less and less use was made of it, until it was finally confined to the private sector and marginalized. It would not be accurate to say that psychoanalysis was pushed out of the great debates of the day, for that would imply a degree of recognition it had never in fact enjoyed. Little was heard of it except for occasional articles in journals like *Interprétation* (which folded after twenty-four issues had been published). Françoise Dolto sometimes made the cover of popular magazines, but that was imported news. Even the universities, which had shown a new openness in the 1970s, came increas-

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**Missionaries and their charges in Canada around the year 1910.**

ingly to follow the American model and emphasize experimental research.

## THE PSYCHOANALYTICAL APPROACH

Psychoanalysis remains marginal to the great questions of the day because its concerns transcend current nationalist viewpoints: the approach of those who seek "an immense bilingual nation stretching from ocean to ocean" and are concerned about the fragmentation of Canada; the views of those supporters of the sovereignty of Quebec who dream of a "people of giants" enjoying cultural and economic autonomy in a free, pluralistic society; and the attitude of the Amerindians who seek self-government.

The psychoanalytical approach, whose function is to unveil the unconscious forces at work in the mind of the individual undergoing analysis, is disconcerting for the nationalistic mindset. Yet it is only by seeing themselves as a people or a nation and then by identifying with this image they have made of themselves that Quebec's French-speakers have hitherto been able to ensure their cultural survival in a largely English-speaking America. Until that survival is more certain, it is unlikely that psychoanalysis and its concerns will emerge from the restricted circles to which they are presently confined.

Quebec's history has been built on discontinuity and forgetting. First came the break with the continent of Europe, then with France, then with England and then with the Catholic tradition—not to mention the separation inevitably involved in emigration which, now as in the past, is part of the experience of much of Quebec's population. And an element of forgetting inevitably accompanies these discontinuities. Car numberplates in Quebec bear the motto *Je me souviens* ("I remember"), but if you ask people exactly what it is they are supposed to be remembering, very few of them know.

Psychoanalysis could no doubt find a role for itself in social, legal, educational and health institutions by helping people to reclaim their history and origins—and, what is more, by offering society as a whole a way of thought that would allow it to approach politics in a different way, without recourse to illusions, and to put discontinuity behind it. ■

# NEWSBRIEFS

## ENERGY IN FOUR LANGUAGES

▶ The World Energy Council (WEC) has published an energy dictionary in four languages, with support from UNESCO. It contains some 2,000 terms related to energy, with definitions in English, French, German and Spanish. Indexed and illustrated with diagrams, the book is intended as a reference guide for people working in the energy sector as well as for translators and interpreters. A Portuguese edition is being prepared, and versions in other languages are also planned. The 656-page dictionary is available from the French committee of the WEC, 89 Boulevard Haussmann, 75008 Paris, France
(Tel: 33-1-40 42 65 26;
Fax: 33-1-47 42 56 73).
The price is FF 690, postage included.

## FILMS IN LEIPZIG

▶ The Leipzig International Documentary and Animation Film Festival was held from 27 November to 2 December 1992, for the first time under the patronage of UNESCO. On the programme were a total of 956 documentary and animation films and videos from 52 countries. The festival spotlighted the Year of Columbus, with around 40 productions from South and North America grouped under the title "The Anniversary Refused". The changes in Eastern Europe and in Germany since reunification were also popular subjects. High-definition TV was debated in a round-table discussion between supporters and detractors of the new technology.

## A REVERBERATING ECHO

▶ UNESCO has put three of its databases on ECHO, the host computer of the Commission of the European Communities. Located in Luxembourg, ECHO was established in 1980 to provide multilingual information on European information services. The databases concerned, which can be consulted free of charge, are UNESBIB, which contains 46,000 bibliographical references to documents and publications issued by UNESCO; DARE, listing 4,650 research institutes and information services as well as 4,500 periodicals in social sciences worldwide; and *Index Translationum*, which contains 500,000 bibliographical references to translated books in about 60 countries in the fields of literature, science, social science, art and education. For more information contact: ECHO Help Desk, BP 2373L, 1023 Luxembourg (Tel: 35-2-34981-200; Fax: 35-2-34981-234); or UNESCO, DIT/CH, 7 Place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP (Tel: 33-1-45 68 23 00; Fax: 33-1-45 67 39 98).

## TECHNOLOGY AND COPYRIGHT

▶ Technology is developing so quickly that creators are having a harder and harder time protecting their rights, according to speakers at a three-day forum organized by UNESCO late last year to coincide with the 40th anniversary of UNESCO's Universal Copyright Convention. Digital copying and musical sampling aroused particularly heated discussion. Sampling is a process whereby extracts of music, sometimes broken down to single notes, are electronically memorized and reassembled to create new works. Until now musical copyright has covered melodies, or sequences of notes, but not single notes. In another field, electronic publishing, it will soon be possible to consult not just printed text but also extracts from films or musical works on compact disc. The forum adopted a declaration inviting UNESCO to follow closely developments in electronic publishing, multimedia publishing and sampling, and "to reinforce its action to encourage the international protection of copyright".

## MEMBRANES: A NEW SCIENCE

▶ A UNESCO Centre for Membrane Science and Technology is to be set up in Australia under the auspices of the Special Research Centre for Membrane Science and Technology of the University of New South Wales. As barriers controlling the flow of substances to and from cells, membranes are essential to the biological processes of all living organisms. Synthetic membranes play an important role in many industrial and biomedical processes, from water desalinization to dialysis in artificial kidneys. The market for membranes is growing rapidly, and it is vital to facilitate access by developing countries to this expanding field.

## ECOLOGY ON THE CURRICULUM

▶ The Baltic Sea Project (BSP) was created in 1988 on the initiative of the Finnish delegation to UNESCO to establish a network of schools in the Baltic region which would provide a common environmental curriculum. More than 150 schools are now participating in the project, and in view of its success, a similar project involving the North Sea countries is being prepared. Meanwhile, the BSP is preparing for publication, with UNESCO support, a new teachers' guide to environmental education and student exchange programmes. It is hoped that the guide, prepared by more than 20 educators in the region, will encourage the introduction of ecology into school curricula.

# COMMENTARY *by Federico Mayor*

*This article is one of a series in which the Director-General of UNESCO sets out his thinking on matters of current concern*

# War and peace in the minds of men

RECENT years have seen the confirmation of a vast movement of liberation from totalitarianism, the emergence of a broad consensus among the international community regarding the most basic values of our societies, and the virtually universal recognition of the principles of democracy and respect for human rights. Extraordinary achievements seemed at last within our reach and every hope seemed justified.

Yet even in spite of the undeniable progress made in the direction of democracy, it is painfully obvious that world poverty has not lessened, that an entire continent is still at grips with grinding hardship and political instability and that the impressive liberation movement in the former communist-bloc countries, although rich in promise, has brought in its wake conflicts as numerous as they were unexpected.

We cannot hide from ourselves the grave threats to the world caused by famine and civil war in Africa, the bloody fighting in central Asia, the enormous development problems confronting Latin America and the Caribbean, the myriad obstacles to peace in Cambodia, the murderous war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the damage—possibly irreversible—inflicted on the environment and, in the last analysis, the failure of the pursuit of happiness in the most prosperous nations.

Yet this should not cause us to underestimate the remarkable mobilization of effort on the part of the international community to resolve all these problems which, it seems to me, are without precedent in history. Admittedly, world and regional institutions have in some cases proved unable through ill-preparedness to deal with the new challenges arising at an accelerating rate. However, the debates at recent international conferences, such as the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, and the increased collaboration of international non-governmental organizations are opening up encouraging prospects.

Embarked as we are on the path towards a new world understanding, we are currently living in a period of transition which is inevitably unstable and such as to cast doubts both on our readiness and our capacity for action. However, the entire international community now feels concerned by the tragic situations facing so many countries. Its commitment is necessarily strong and unambiguous inasmuch as a worldwide moral contract seems the essential first step towards ensuring that a culture of war—which appeared to be on the decline—is gradually transformed into a culture of peace, which is already beginning to take shape. We can no longer shelter behind the responsibility of the nuclear superpowers. We are all responsible and no one can now say "I didn't know" or "It's not my business".

No one can fail to be aware that the international community has mobilized its efforts under the flag of the United Nations in the case—for example—of Somalia, Cambodia and the former Yugoslavia. Yet, significant as they are, those efforts can not always prevent massive migrations of people—as we are witnessing today—or, looking towards the future, provide populations with aid on a scale that would favour endogenous development.

It is my deep conviction that our incapacity to respond adequately to these dramatic situations constitutes a serious threat to the democratic and ethical foundations of our civilization. For that reason, we must act—and act quickly—in order to equip ourselves against having to accept the unacceptable.

For my part, I do not doubt that the determination of men and women of goodwill must ultimately prevail and that we shall ensure that the basic values we hold dear will finally triumph. However difficult our task, we shall never yield to discouragement. Our commitments, which are those of our Organization, seem more relevant than ever, and we shall keep constantly in mind the famous words of UNESCO's Constitution: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". ■

if we ignore the fact that right is founded on brute force and even today needs violence to maintain it.

■ *Life force and death instinct*

I now can comment on another of your statements. You are amazed that it is so easy to infect men with the war-fever, and you surmise that man has in him an active instinct for hatred and destruction, amenable to such stimulations. I entirely agree with you. I believe in the existence of this instinct and have been recently at pains to study its manifestations.

In this connexion may I set out a fragment of that knowledge of the instincts, which we psychoanalysts, after so many tentative essays and gropings in the dark, have compassed? We assume that human instincts are of two kinds: those that conserve and unify, which we call "erotic" (in the meaning Plato gives to Eros in his *Symposium*), or else "sexual" (explicitly extending the popular connotations of "sex"); and, secondly, the instincts to destroy and kill, which we assimilate as the aggressive or destructive instincts.

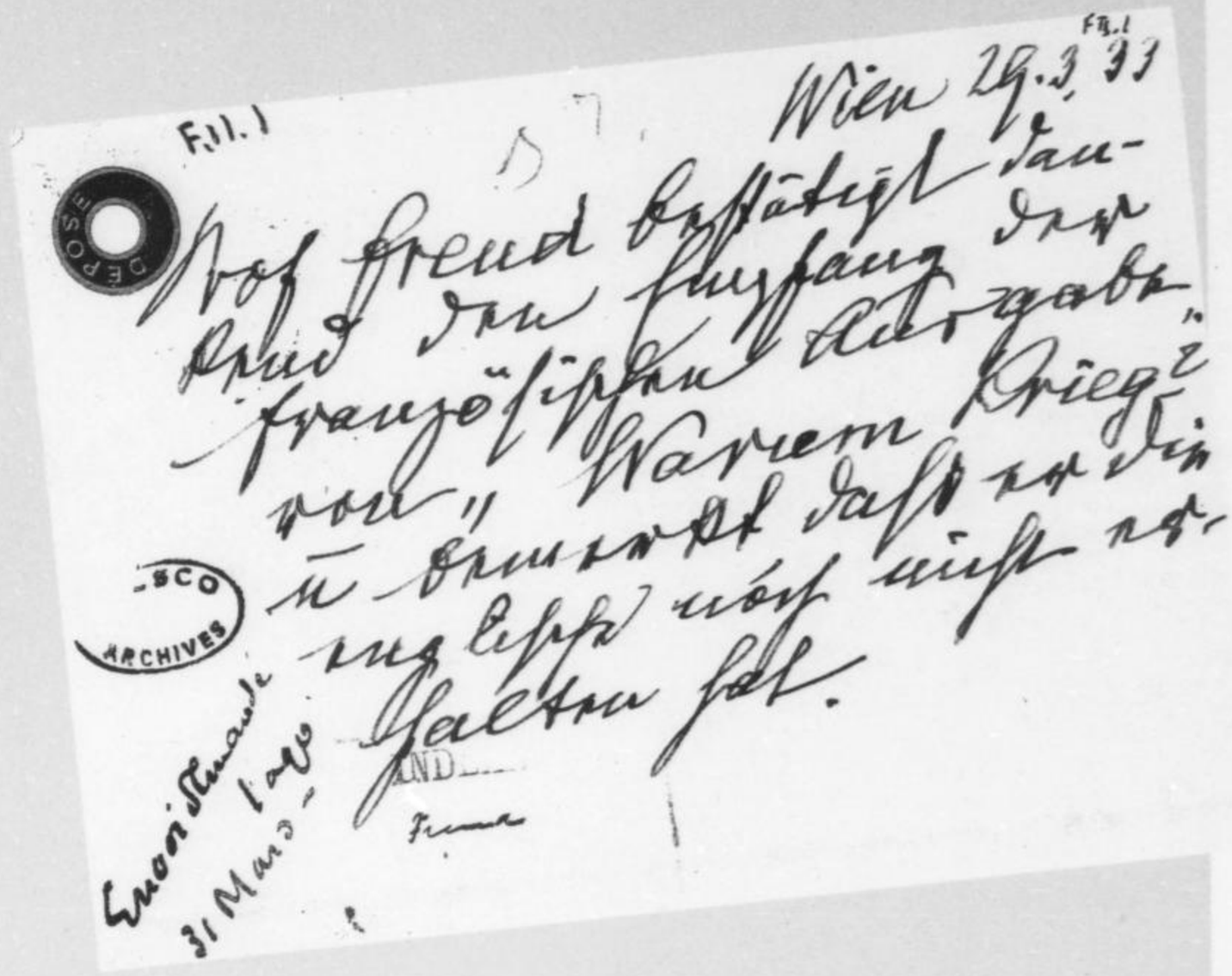
These are, as you perceive, the well-known opposites, Love and Hate, transformed into theoretical entities; they are, perhaps, another aspect of those eternal polarities, attraction and repulsion, which fall within your province. But we must be chary of passing overhastily to the notions of good and evil. Each of these instincts is every whit as indispensable as its opposite and all the phenomena of life derive from their activity, whether they work in concert or in opposition.

It seems that an instinct of either category can operate but rarely in isolation; it is always blended ("alioyed", as we say) with a certain dosage of its opposite, which modifies its aim or even, in certain circumstances, is a prime condition of its attainment. Thus the instinct of self-preservation is certainly of an erotic nature, but to gain its ends this very instinct necessitates aggressive action. In the same way the love-instinct, when directed to a specific object, calls for an admixture of the acquisitive instinct if it is to enter into effective possession of that object. It is the difficulty of isolating the two kinds of instinct in their manifestations that has so long prevented us from recognizing them.

If you will travel with me a little further on this road, you will find that human affairs are complicated in yet another way. Only exceptionally does an action follow on the stimulus of a single instinct. . . . As a rule several motives of similar composition concur to bring about the act. . . .

When a nation is summoned to engage in war, a whole gamut of human motives may respond to this appeal; high and low motives, some openly avowed, others slurred over. The lust for aggression and destruction is certainly included; the innumerable cruelties of history and man's daily life confirm its prevalence and strength. The stimulation of these destructive impulses by appeals to idealism and the erotic instinct naturally facilitates their release. Musing on the atrocities recorded on history's page, we feel that the ideal motive has often served as a camouflage for the lust of destruction; sometimes, as with the cruelties of the Inquisition, it seems that, while the ideal motives occupied the foreground of consciousness, they drew their strength from the destructive instincts submerged in the unconscious. Both interpretations are feasible.

. . . I would like to dwell a little longer on this destructive instinct which is seldom given the attention that its importance warrants. With the least of speculative efforts we are led to conclude that this instinct functions in




every living being, striving to work its ruin and reduce life to its primal state of inert matter. Indeed it might well be called the "death-instinct"; whereas the erotic instincts vouch for the struggle to live on. The death instinct becomes an impulse to destruction when, with the aid of certain organs, it directs its action outwards, against external objects. The living being, that is to say, defends its own existence by destroying foreign bodies.

But, in one of its activities, the death instinct is operative *within* the living being and we have sought to trace back a number of normal and pathological phenomena to this *introversion* of the destructive instinct. We have even committed the heresy of explaining the origin of human conscience by some such "turning inward" of the aggressive impulse. Obviously when this internal tendency operates on too large a scale, it is no trivial matter, rather a positively morbid state of things; whereas the diversion of the destructive impulse towards the external world must have beneficial effects. Here is then the biological justification for all those vile, pernicious propensities which we now are combating. We can but own that they are really more akin to nature than this our stand against them, which, in fact, remains to be accounted for. . . .

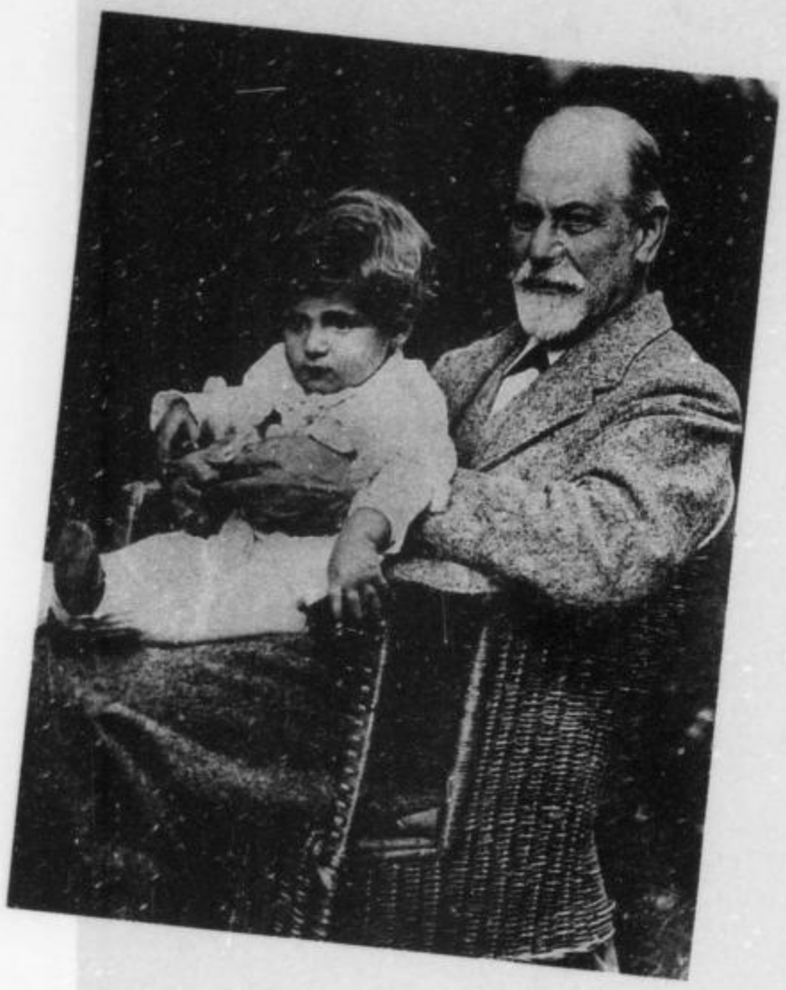
The upshot of these observations, as bearing on the subject in hand, is that there is no likelihood of our being able to suppress humanity's aggressive tendencies. In some happy corners of the earth, they say, where nature brings forth abundantly whatever man desires, there flourish races whose lives go gently by, unknowing of aggression or constraint. This I can hardly credit; I would like further details about these happy folk. . . .

From our "mythology" of the instincts we may easily deduce a formula for an indirect method of eliminating war. If the propensity for war be due to the destructive instinct, we have always its counter-agent, Eros, to our hand. All that produces ties of sentiment between man and man must serve us as war's antidote.

These ties are of two kinds. First, such relations as those towards a beloved object, void though they be of sexual intent. The psychoanalyst need feel no compunction in mentioning "love" in this connexion; religion uses the same language: Love thy neighbour as thyself. A pious injunction easy to enounce, but hard to carry out! The other bond of sentiment is by way of identification. All that brings out the significant resemblances between men calls into play this feeling of community, identification, whereon is founded, in large measure, the whole edifice of human society.

In your strictures on the abuse of authority I find another suggestion for an indirect attack on the war-impulse. That men are divided into leaders and the led is but another manifestation of their inborn and irremediable inequality. The second class constitutes the vast majority; they need a high command to make decisions for them, to which decisions they usually bow without demur. In this context we would point out that men should be at greater pains than heretofore to form a superior class of independent thinkers, unamenable to intimidation and fervent in the quest for truth, whose function it would be to guide the masses dependent on their lead. There is no need to point out how little the rule of politicians and the Church's ban on liberty of thought encourage such a new creation.

The ideal conditions would obviously be found in a community where every man subordinated his instinctive life to the dictates of



**Freud with his grandson.**

reason. Nothing less than this could bring about so thorough and so durable a union between men, even if this involved the severance of mutual ties of sentiment. But surely such a hope is utterly utopian, as things are. The other indirect methods of preventing war are certainly more feasible, but entail no quick results. They conjure up an ugly picture of mills that grind so slowly that, before the flour is ready, men are dead of hunger.

. . . But why do we, you and I and many another, protest so vehemently against war, instead of just accepting it as another of life's odious importunities? For it seems a natural thing enough, biologically sound and practically unavoidable. I trust you will not be shocked by my raising such a question. For the better conduct of an inquiry it may be well to don a mask of feigned aloofness.

The answer to my query may run as follows: Because every man has a right over his own life and war destroys lives that were full of promise; it forces the individual into situations that shame his manhood, obliging him to murder fellow men, against his will; it ravages material amenities, the fruits of human toil, and much besides. Moreover wars, as now conducted, afford no scope for acts of heroism according to the old ideals and, given the high perfection of modern arms, war today would mean the sheer extermination of one of the combatants, if not of both.

This is so true, so obvious, that we can but wonder why the conduct of war is not banned by general consent. Doubtless either of the points I have just made is open to debate. It may be asked if the community, in its turn, cannot claim a right over the individual lives of its members. Moreover, all forms of war cannot be indiscriminately condemned; so long as there are nations and empires, each prepared callously to exterminate its rival, all alike must be equipped for war. But we will not dwell on any of these problems; they lie outside the debate to which you have invited me.

I pass on to another point, the basis, as it strikes me, of our common hatred of war. It is this: we cannot do otherwise than hate it. Pacifists we are, since our organic nature wills us thus to be. Hence it comes easy to us to find arguments that justify our standpoint.

This point, however, calls for elucidation. Here is the way in which I see it. The cultural development of mankind (some, I know, prefer to call it civilization) has been in progress since immemorial antiquity. To this phenomenon we owe all that is best in our composition, but also much that makes for human suffering. Its origins and causes are obscure, its issue is uncertain, but some of its characteristics are easy to perceive. . . .

The psychic changes which accompany this process of cultural change are striking, and not to be gainsaid. They consist in the progressive rejection of instinctive ends and a scaling down of instinctive reactions. Sensations which delighted our forefathers have become neutral or unbearable to us; and, if our ethical and aesthetic ideals have undergone a change, the causes of this are ultimately organic.

On the psychological side two of the most important phenomena of culture are, firstly, a strengthening of the intellect, which tends to master our instinctive life, and, secondly, an introversion of the aggressive impulse, with all its consequent benefits and perils. Now war runs most emphatically counter to the psychic disposition imposed on us by the growth of culture; we are therefore bound to resent war, to find it utterly intolerable. With pacifists like us it is not merely an intellectual and affective repulsion, but a constitutional intolerance, an idiosyncrasy in its most drastic form. And it would seem that the aesthetic ignominies of warfare play almost as large a part in this repugnance as war's atrocities.

How long have we to wait before the rest of men turn pacifist? Impossible to say, and yet perhaps our hope that these two factors—man's cultural disposition and a well-founded dread of the form that future wars will take—may serve to put an end to war in the near future, is not chimerical. But by what ways or by-ways this will come about, we cannot guess. Meanwhile we may rest on the assurance that whatever makes for cultural development is working also against war. . . . ■

# RECENT RECORDS

## JAZZ

**THE NAT ADDERLEY SEXTET.**
**Work Song.**
***Nat Adderley (cornet), Sonny Fortune (alto sax), Vincent Herring (alto sax), Rob Bargad (piano), Walter Booker (bass), Jimmy Cobb (drums)***
**CD Sweet Basil ALCR-44**
Nat Adderley, Cannonball Adderley's brother, is one of the finest surviving representatives of the "hard bop" style popularized in the 1950s by groups like Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers. This compact disc, recorded at New York's Sweet Basil jazz club, consists of four standards, "High Fly", "In a Sentimental Mood", and Nat Adderley's own "Work Song" and "Jive Samba", all played with considerable energy. Alongside more established talents like Walter Booker and Jimmy Cobb, the sextet features Vincent Herring, only recently discovered while playing in New York's streets and subway. His classical style contrasts with the freer, more powerful playing of Sonny Fortune, long a sideman with McCoy Tyner. This is solid, robust music—one of the many currents of mainstream jazz.

**JAY HOGGARD.** ***The Fountain***
***Jay Hoggard (vibraphone), Kenny Burrell (guitar), James Weidman (piano), Marcus McLaurine (bass), Yoron Israel (drums).***
**CD Muse MCD 5450**
Jay Hoggard is currently the most inventive jazz vibraphonist of his generation. Destined for a brilliant career, he needs to be more widely known. Backed here by the great guitarist Kenny Burrell and by a group of younger instrumentalists including pianist James Weidman, who has accompanied Abbey Lincoln and other singers, Hoggard plays two original numbers and several standards including "Epistrophy", "My One and Only Love", "Stompin' at the Savoy" and a splendid "Prelude to a Kiss". Hoggard is absolute master of his instrument; he has complete control of tone, accentuation and phrasing, a rich feeling for harmony and a highly developed melodic and rhythmic sense. He stretches the vibraphone's range to make it sound a much less limited instrument than it actually is.

## POPULAR MUSIC

**L'ORCHESTRE DE CONTREBASSES.**
***Les Cargos***
**CD Label Bleu LBLC 6536 HM 83**
The Orchestre de Contrebasses, made up of seven young French bass players (Olivier Moret, Christian Gentet, Frédéric Alcaraz, Renaud Garcia-Fons, Yves Torchinski, Jean-Philippe Viret and Thibault Delor), is beginning to win an international reputation. Several American jazz bassists, including Anthony Cox, have talked to me about it in the past few months. There is nothing new about the idea of a bass ensemble. In New York in the 1970s David Lee, father of the film director Spike Lee, created the remarkable Bass Choir which played jazz only. The Orchestre de Contrebasses plays original compositions by its members—"Béret, beurre, cornichons", "Week end à Deauville", "A pas de chat"—that are completely *sui generis*, neither jazz, pop nor contemporary music. As Lionel Rotcage rightly claims in his brief cover note, "The music of this strange group . . . draws its energy from evocation, poetry and sheer zaniness". The Orchestre de Contrebasses is worth discovering.

**ABED AZRIÉ.** ***Aromates***
**CD Elektra Nonesuch 7559-79241-2**
Azrié, a Syrian from Aleppo, finds his inspiration in oriental poems such as the Epic of Gilgamesh which he sings to the accompaniment of a synthesizer and various traditional Arab instruments, including the *qanun*, *nay* and drums. The lyrics (by the Palestinians Samih Al-Qassem and Tawfiq Zayyad, the Iraqis Badr Chaker As-Sayyab, Al-Hallaj and Rabiah Al-Adawiyyah, the Syrian poet Adonis, and the Lebanese Khalil Hawi and Ounsi Al-Haj) are of great beauty, and Azrié's grave and mysterious voice puts them to intelligent use. My only complaint is that the synthesizer creates an inappropriate New Age atmosphere that slightly spoils this otherwise splendid world of sound.

## CLASSICAL MUSIC

**RODRIGO AND KHACHATURIAN.**
***Flute Concertos***
***Patrick Gallois (flute) and the Philharmonia Orchestra, conducted by Ion Marin***
**CD Deutsche Grammophon 435 767-2**
The remarkable young flautist Patrick Gallois gets a panpipe-like sound from his instrument, demonstrated here in two concertos by 20th-century composers, Joaqúin Rodrigo (born 1901) and Aram Khachaturian (1903-78). The first, which was composed for the Irish flautist James Galway, is pastoral in mood and difficult to play. The second, more sombre and Slavic, was originally written in 1940 for the violin of David Oistrakh and was subsequently adapted by the composer himself for the outstanding French flautist Jean-Pierre Rampal. Spanish themes remain in the background in the Rodrigo concerto, which calls for considerable virtuosity on the part of the soloist. By contrast, the Khachaturian piece is unmistakably Russian, particularly the Andante, inspired by a Caucasian men's dance. However different the style of the two works may be, they share a common Moorish influence, since the folklore of both Spain and the Caucasus bears the trace of Arab music.

## TRADITIONAL MUSIC

**IRAQ.** ***Traditional Rhythmic Structures***
**Unesco's Traditional Musics of Today series**
**Unesco CD D 8044**
Iraq, the cradle of splendid ancient civilizations, is considered in the Arab world to possess a musical tradition of great purity. Various *maqam*, or modes, are associated with different parts of the country, and the singers may be accompanied by any of several instruments including the *santour* (struck zither), the *djoze* (spike fiddle), *tablah* (goblet drums) or the *riqq* (a framed hand drum with jingles). The rhythmic complexity of some of the pieces indicates ancient Indo-Asiatic influences, and in tracks like the *Mukhalif* or the *Fann Khammari*, both of which feature a male-voice choir accompanied by the great drums known as *tar* and by rhythmic clapping, the strangulated voice of the soloist seems to issue from the very dawn of time. This is a high-quality recording. But what a pity that women are excluded from this music.

# An atlas of world literature

It would be hard to imagine a more appropriate work with which to launch this column than *Le Grand Atlas des Littératures* (The Great Atlas of World Literature) published in Paris by *Encyclopaedia Universalis* in 1990. The Atlas is a reference book which also stimulates the reader to ask fundamental questions about the nature of literature.

What is literature? Is it simply a collection of signs, as Roland Barthes maintains in *Degré zéro de l'écriture* (Writing Degree Zero), signs which bear no relation to ideas, language or style but exist to define the isolation of a ritual language? Or is it a mirror held up to history, offering a wide range of ways of making sense of an ever-changing, multifarious and inescapable reality? Whether regarded as form or essence, the fruit of mental activity for its own sake, of political commitment or even of political servitude, fiction—in the form of epic or drama, poetry or prose—has long been the subject of debate between the partisans of a disembodied, incantatory "pure beauty", and those who opt for a "useful" literature devoted to political and moral education.

Of course, so-called "committed" literature often ends up as little more than militant pamphleteering, thus renouncing the essential function of all art, which is to present the world through the artist's unique, transforming vision. It is nevertheless true that literature, perhaps more than all the other arts, has always had a special relationship with history, from the great Asian and Mediterranean epics, the northern sagas and the folktales of Africa, to Shakespeare and the contemporary novel.

## A THEMATIC APPROACH

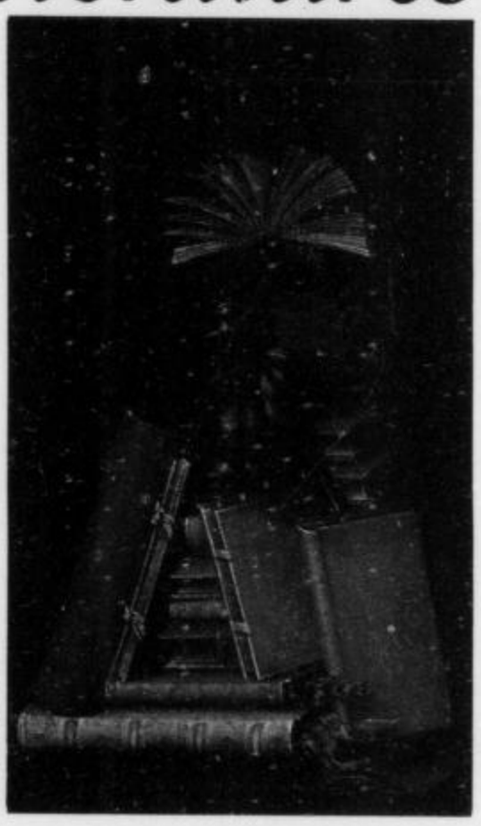
The distinguishing feature of the 436-page Atlas is its thematic approach, which introduces the reader to major works of the imagination from many countries, whilst at the same time bringing him or her into the vital, never-ending debate that revolves around the same, oft-repeated questions: How was literature born? How can it be defined? What purpose does it serve?

This monumental tome offers stimulating reflections on literary forms, structures and genres and their links with the real world and with philosophical and religious thought. With the Atlas we journey through Africa, India, southeast Asia, Japan and China, discovering en route the links that have been forged in many parts of the world from the earliest times down to the present between the theatrical traditions of Europe and the East, between poems, tales and myths, between abstract thought and signs.

Literature, the creation of a mind engaged in a process of self-discovery which draws on the imaginary and the real, cannot exist without a material support—the stone and clay tablets of Mesopotamia, the *volumen* or roll of papyrus (which began to be used around the time of the appearance of writing in ancient Egypt), and the codex, the form taken by the book from the times of ancient Rome and China until the glorious days of the European Renaissance saw the birth of modern printing.

The codex, which appeared in the Roman empire during the first century of the Christian era, consisted of sheets of manuscript folded in two and grouped into a section called a gathering. The gatherings could then be sewn together into a book. Codices were used for sacred and profane subjects, for story-telling and for purposes of administration. Most texts recorded on them were later erased. Although the invention of printing, which took over from the written manuscript in Europe around the middle of the fifteenth century, is still commonly attributed to Johannes Gensfleisch, better known as Gutenberg, the Atlas reminds us that xylography (printing using engraved wooden blocks) was known in China more than six centuries before. By the ninth century the new technique had reached Japan and Korea, countries which were then subject to Chinese cultural influence.

*Littératures*



LES GRANDS ATLAS UNIVERSALIS

## A MUSEUM OF THE WRITTEN WORD

The Atlas also gives a full account of the written word, from Sanskrit script and Asian pictograms to medieval calligraphy and modern printing, and of that verbal sorcerer, the writer, whether Egyptian scribe or Hindu pandit, avant-garde poet or exile in search of a new homeland or new forms of expression,

Other themes treated in the Atlas include the relationship between reading matter and the reading public, the commerce in literature and the literature of commerce, the development of libraries—those temples of the book—and the eventful history of publishing from the earliest days of printing to the mega-publishers of today. Meanwhile, Gutenberg, bright central star of his galaxy, looks mischievously down at McLuhan and the flood of images that threatened to displace his invention, the modern book.

An inexhaustible treasure-house of facts and stimulating ideas, the *Grand Atlas des Littératures* draws on the work of major authorities in linguistics, sociology, palaeography and anthropology. It is also, through the outstanding quality of its illustrations—maps and photographs, drawings, reproductions of paintings and early printed manuscripts—a museum of literature and the world of the imagination.

**EDGAR REICHMANN**
**Writer and critic**

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In the next issue (April 1993)
The UNESCO COURIER
opens its columns to

**WRITERS FROM AROUND THE WORLD**

who reflect on

# Loving and living

Also featuring:
an interview with the French philosopher
**LUC FERRY**

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**EACH MONTH: A TOPIC OF UNIVERSAL INTEREST SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF LEADING SPECIALISTS OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND VARYING POINTS OF VIEW...**

APARTHEID: THE BEGINNING OF THE END . . . WOMEN SPEAK OUT ON THE ENVIRONMENT . . . ART IN THE STREET . . . REDISCOVERING 1492 . . . IN PRAISE OF TOLERANCE . . . UNIVERSALITY: A EUROPEAN VISION? . . . THE KNOWLEDGE BEARERS . . . TELE...VISIONS . . . THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY . . . THE COMPETITIVE WORLD OF SPORT . . . EXPLORING THE COSMOS . . . VIOLENCE . . . PSYCHOANALYSIS: THE HIDDEN I...

**EACH MONTH: AN INTERVIEW WITH A PERSONALITY FROM THE WORLD OF ART, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, CULTURE . . .**

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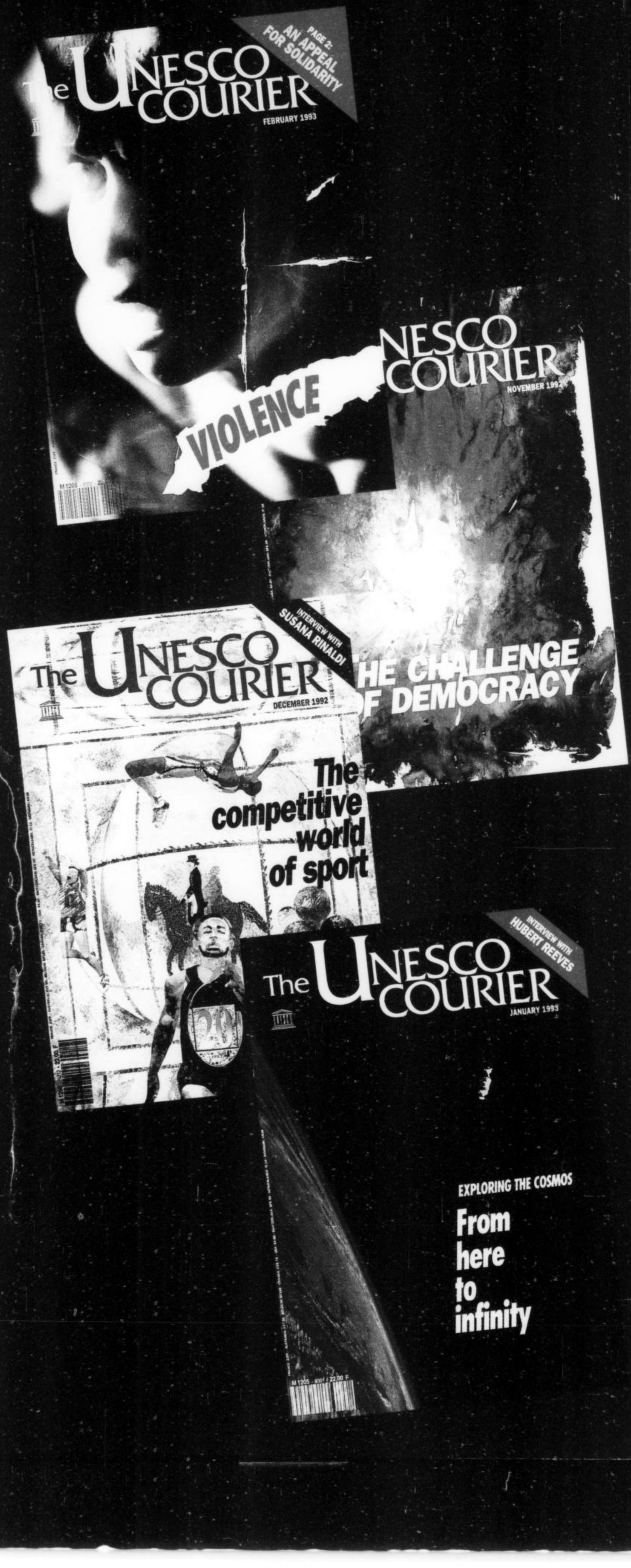

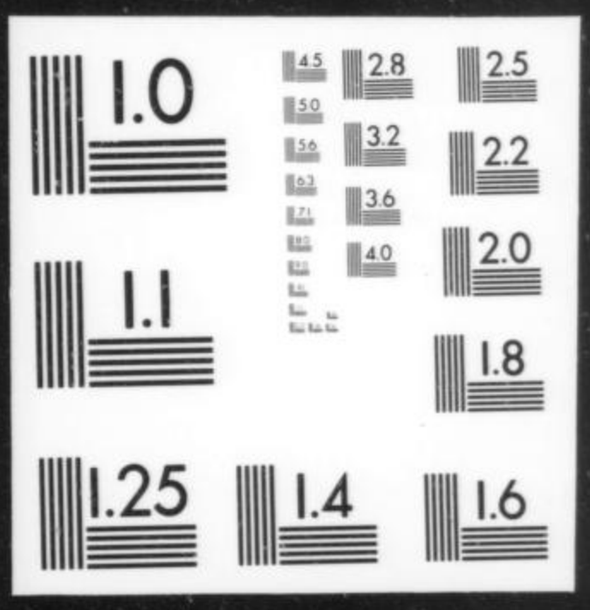
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